

2012 ■ VOLUME 59 ■ NUMBER 1

# PIONEER



**Brigham Young and a Decade-Long System of  
Cooperatives and United Orders in Zion**

*Published by the Sons of Utah Pioneers*

# PIONEER

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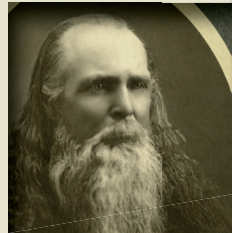
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**1-866-724-1847.** For reprints

and back issues, contact SUP.

Published quarterly, \$15.00 per year.

**MISSION STATEMENT:**

The mission of the National Society of the Sons of Utah Pioneers is to preserve the memory and heritage of the early pioneers of the Utah Territory. We honor the pioneers for their faith in God, devotion to family, loyalty to church and country, hard work and service to others, courage in adversity, personal integrity, and unyielding determination. The society also honors present-day pioneers worldwide in many walks of life who exemplify these same qualities of character. It is further intended to teach these same qualities to the youth, who will be tomorrow's pioneers.

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## Contents

# President's Message

BY RICHARD O. CHRISTIANSEN



As your National President for 2012 I extend my greetings to the many

faithful readers of *Pioneer*, this wonderful publication from the headquarters of the Sons of Utah Pioneers. I find this to be a daunting position, made more so as I am becoming better acquainted with and sit in on meetings of editors, writers, and compilers of each quarterly issue. These multitalented and dedicated people (you will find their names printed on the inside of the front cover) produce this outstanding product every quarter and just keep on doing it year after year. Absolutely remarkable!

A few days ago I was reading some of the history written about my great-grandfather, William C. Ogden (1820–1889). Baptized in 1848 in England, he migrated to Utah with his wife and seven children—five boys and twin girls. The youngest boy, Joseph (1859–1947), was my grandfather. The family, closely tied and united, remained together. Santaquin was their first home upon arriving in Utah. They stayed there for four years. By this time all but the two youngest sons were grown and married. Still, banding themselves together, they all relocated to Richfield, which became the

final residence of William and his wife, Mary Vickers.

In 1873 President Brigham Young and some of the Apostles were traveling and teaching about the United Order. “The Ogden families joined the Order organized in Richfield and turned in all their property. The men were assigned to different branches of work. William was given the supervision of all buildings. He helped build many of the homes in Richfield. James and Thomas worked on the Order farms, while William Jr. was given the labor of hauling lumber from the Order Sawmill on Cove Mountain and also hauling poles to help make fences. John and Joseph made adobes with their father, along with other jobs that were assigned them. The Order proved to be a good school of experience, but they would have been better off

financially working outside the Order” (from a life history of William written by a granddaughter, Alice R. Ogden Christensen, 1940). This is the only comment about the United Order in this history of my family.

That Ogden family has grown widely and rapidly, building a great reputation of integrity, work, and industry. I love learning more and more about my pioneer ancestors. I invite all of you to use this magazine as a motivator, a learning tool, and a resource as you read and ponder the richness of the history of our wonderful Saints. What a great thing it is to be able to obtain additional copies of each magazine, or better yet, to purchase two-year subscriptions for families, friends, and associates. Simply call the headquarters (801-484-4441) and they will help. See you next quarter. ▼

## New Departments

*Pioneer* magazine is proud to introduce three new departments that will be part of each issue. [\*Deseret Views\*](#) will feature short, amusing pioneer anecdotes and interesting pioneer tales. [\*Pioneer Vignettes\*](#) will give us a glimpse into pioneer life. During the Sons of Utah Pioneers’ more than 75-year history, the membership has been active in placing hundreds of monuments to mark the historic sites in the Great Basin. Stewart Radmall, director of Monuments and Markers for SUP, has spent years gathering a single master list of all the information on each of these locations and their respective monument or marker. *Pioneer* will feature an [\*SUP Monuments\*](#) department with information from this master list. We will also continue to include [\*Diary Entries\*](#) and [\*Poetry\*](#) selections that portray pioneer history, life, and values.

A DECADE-LONG SYSTEM  
*of*  
**Cooperatives**  
*AND*  
**United Orders**  
*in Zion*

*"Let every one of the  
Latter-day Saints, male  
and female, decree in  
their hearts that they  
will buy of nobody else  
but their own faithful  
brethren, who will do  
good with the money  
they will thus obtain."*

—Brigham Young, *Journal  
of Discourses*, 11:139

In the 1860s the economic situation in Utah was changing rapidly due to the influx of non-Mormons. Brigham Young was concerned about the impact of these changes on the Mormon settlers, so he set in motion measures designed to build and strengthen the Latter-day Saint covenant community. Among these was a renewal of economic cooperation.

When the Saints first arrived in the West they had no choice but to cooperate for the public good in building infrastructure for housing, community needs, farms, and so on. This included public buildings, roads, irrigation canals, fences, and more. The measures of the 1860s expanded those



Photo  
courtesy  
Utah State  
Historical  
Society.

initial efforts in many ways. The first of these new programs was the highly successful Brigham City Cooperative Association, founded by Lorenzo Snow in 1864. Brigham Young then called for similar efforts throughout the Territory. In 1868 Church leaders developed a plan to establish a cooperative store in every ward and settlement. In Salt Lake City, Brigham Young and local businessmen established Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Association (ZCMI), which acted as the central wholesaler to the local cooperatives being created in every settlement. Within a short time, 150 retail cooperatives were organized in Utah, with additional cooperatives in Idaho. The distinction of having the first "ward store" in Salt Lake City belongs to the members of the Tenth Ward, who completed the organization of the Tenth Ward Co-op before February 2, 1869.

The cooperative movement was motivated by both practical and religious concerns. Economically, Church leaders wanted to control prices in the region so that all businesses operated with the public interest in mind. They also wanted to maintain independence from the non-Mormon merchants, who were often vocal critics of the Church but nevertheless reaped inordinately high profits from their business dealings with the Saints. Furthermore, they wanted to offset some of the possible negative impacts of the transcontinental

railroad, which was quickly reaching Zion's borders. Particularly, this new transportation highway would flood Utah with inexpensive goods, destroying the local economy and immediately integrating the area into the national market economy. Local residents would ultimately supply only raw materials to the East and then, out of necessity, be compelled to repurchase the finished products at a great economic loss.



**OCTOBER 1865 GENERAL CONFERENCE:** *"I know it is the will of God that we should sustain ourselves, for, if we do not, we must perish, so far as receiving aid from any quarter, except God and ourselves. . . . We have to preserve ourselves, for our enemies are determined to destroy us" (Journal of Discourses, 11:139).*

**1868:** *"Let this trade [with outside merchants] alone, and save our means for other purposes than to enrich outsiders. We must use it to spread the Gospel, to gather the poor, build temples, sustain our poor, build houses for ourselves, and convert this means to a better use than to give it to those who will use it against us" (Journal of Discourses, 12:301).*

*—Brigham Young*

In all of this, Brigham Young was inspired by the principle of consecration revealed through Joseph Smith. The Saints needed to live this principle if they were to truly establish Zion as Enoch had done. Brigham Young stated that the cooperative movement of the 1860s was "only a stepping stone to what is called the Order of Enoch, but which is in reality the order of Heaven" (*Journal of Discourses*, 13:2). With the success of the cooperative movement of the 1860s, Brigham Young promoted the concept of united orders beginning in 1874. He did this not only to lessen the impact of the previous year's nationwide economic panic, but also to promote moral reform and emphasize the principles of consecration. Anticipating that there might be some reluctance to move away from the prevailing capitalistic economy, President Young instructed bishops not to push their members any further than they were willing to go toward cooperative living. This resulted in a wide variety of organizational forms.





## *Escalante, Utah*

would result in greater production, more economical consumption, lower costs for producing goods, and equalization of incomes at continually higher living standards. But in the face of this, as one brother wisely stated, "it takes pure people to live pure principles."<sup>1</sup>

In the urban centers of northern Utah each united order typically sponsored specific business enterprises. Such orders were established in Utah Valley, Cache Valley, and Bear Lake Valley. In the more isolated communities in southern Utah they often included a more thorough restructuring of society. In Orderville, for example, all members of the community ate their meals in a community

Some united orders were established but were quite short-lived, such as those in St. George and Richfield. Expectations had been high at organizational meetings. Most felt that the Order



## *Huntington*

*China cabinet pictured right (courtesy Church History Museum) belonged to Lorenzo Snow, who was in charge of the Brigham City cooperative enterprise. The cabinet was built in the Brigham City furniture shop. See Pioneer magazine, Autumn 2002, 2-7. Historic photos (4-5) courtesy Utah State Historical Society.*



dining hall; wore similar, locally produced clothing; and pooled their resources to operate an array of communally owned enterprises. Most of the orders lasted only briefly, but Orderville functioned in this way until the mid-1880s, when it was disbanded amid the pressures of antipolygamy “raids.” Though ultimately short-lived, the united order movement helped to shield the Saints from economic fluctuations, facilitated important building projects such as the first four Utah temples, and inculcated the ideals of industry and cooperative effort that would influence the welfare program of the following century. ☑

1 Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation among the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 178.

#### *Additional sources:*

Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah, The Right Place: The Official Centennial History* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 1995), 153–55.

James B. Allen, and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 335–43.

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L. Dwight Israelsen, “United Orders,” *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, edited by Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992).

Dean L. May, “The United Order Movement,” *Utah History Encyclopedia*, edited by Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 576–99.

Brigham Young, *Deseret News*, June 2, 1869, 199.

## *Brigham City*

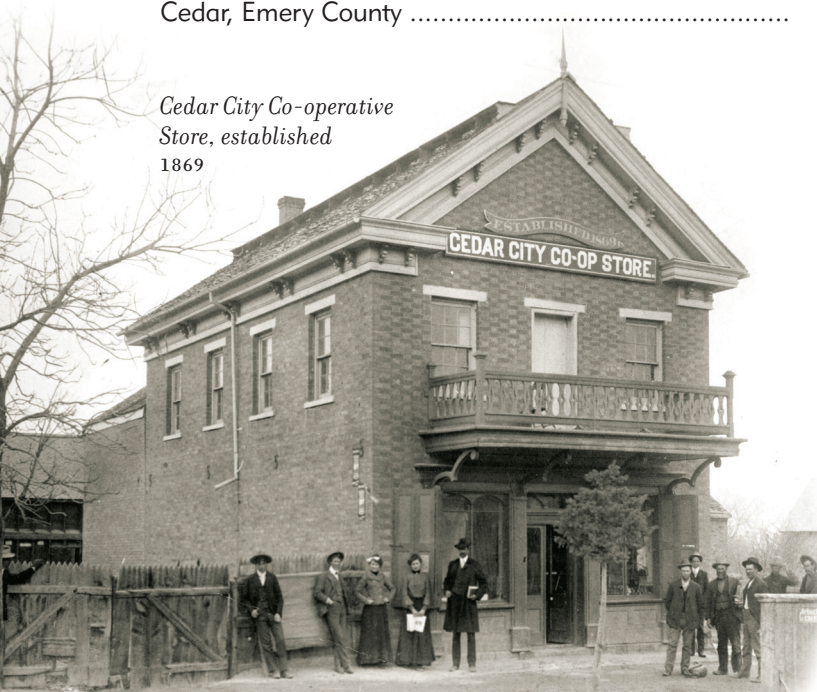


# All Known United Order Organizations

Adamsville, Beaver County ..... April 12, 1874  
 Almy, Uinta County, Wyoming ..... June 7, 1874  
 Alpine, Utah County ..... April 27, 1874  
 American Fork, Utah County ..... April 27, 1874  
 Annabella, Sevier County ..... April 24, 1874  
 Axtell, San Pete County .....  
 Bear Lake Stake, Rich County, Utah;  
     Bear Lake County, Idaho ..... May 17, 1874  
 Bear River City, Box Elder County  
 Beaver, Beaver County ..... April 12, 1874  
 Beaver Dams, Arizona (Littlefield Ward) .....  
 Beaver Stake .....  
 Bellevue (Bellevue), Washington County .... April 6, 1874  
 Bennington, Bear Lake County, Idaho ..... May 19, 1874  
 Big Cottonwood, Salt Lake County .....  
 Bloomington, Bear Lake County, Idaho .... May 23, 1874  
 Bountiful, Davis County ..... June 4, 1874  
 Box Elder County .....  
 Brigham City, Box Elder County ..... June 28, 1874  
 Brigham City (Ballenger), Navajo County, Arizona ... 1876  
 Brighton, Salt Lake County ..... June 14, 1874  
 Bunkerville, Clark County, Nevada ..... January 1877  
 Cache Valley Central, Cache County, Utah;  
     Franklin County, Idaho ..... May 2, 1874  
 Cave Valley, Chihuahua, Mexico ..... January 1893  
 Cedar, Emery County .....

Cedar City, Iron County ..... April 8, 1874  
 Cedar Fort (Cedar Valley), Utah County .... May 3, 1874  
 Center Stake, Salt Lake County .....  
 Centerfield, Sanpete County ..... 1874  
 Centerville, Davis County ..... June 23, 1874  
 Circleville, Piute County .....  
 Clarkston, Cache County ..... May 31, 1874  
 Coalville, Summit County (Cluff Ward) .....  
 Cooper Bottom, Washington County .....  
 Davis County ..... March 15, 1876  
 Eden, Weber County .....  
 Elsinore, Sevier County .....  
 Ephraim, Sanpete County ..... May 27, 1874  
 Fairfield, Utah County ..... May 3, 1871  
 Fairview, Sanpete County ..... May 28, 1874  
 Farmers and Horticulturists, Salt Lake County .....  
 Farmington, Davis County ..... May 12, 1874  
 Fayette, Sanpete County ..... May 1, 1874  
 Fillmore, Millard County ..... April 15, 1874  
 Fish Haven, Bear Lake County, Idaho .... May 26, 1874  
 Fountain Green, Sanpete County ..... May 29, 1874  
 Franklin, Franklin County, Idaho ... *organized/did not function*  
 Glendale, Kane County ..... March 22, 1874  
 Glenwood, Sevier County ..... April 22, 1874  
 Goshen, Utah County .....  
 Graham, Graham County, Arizona .....  
 Greenville, Beaver County ..... April 12, 1874  
 Gunnison, Sanpete County ..... April 30, 1874  
 Harmony (New Harmony), Washington  
     County ..... April 7, 1874  
 Harrisburg, Washington County ..... March 19, 1874  
 Harrisville, Weber County .....  
 Hayden's Ferry (Hayden), Gila County, Arizona .....  
 Heber, Wasatch County .....  
 Heberville Bottoms, Washington County .... Feb. 17, 1874  
 Hebron, Washington County ..... March 24, 1874  
 Henneferville, Summit County ..... July 6, 1874  
 Holden, Millard County .....  
 Huntsville, Weber County ..... May 20, 1874  
 Hyde Park, Cache County .....  
 Hyrum, Cache County ..... March 15, 1875  
 Iron County .....  
 Jericho, Juab County .....  
 Johnson, Kane County ..... March 13, 1874  
 Joseph, Sevier County ..... April 29, 1874  
 Joseph City (Allen's Camp), Navajo County, Arizona..1876  
 Juab Stake .....

Cedar City Co-operative  
 Store, established  
 1869





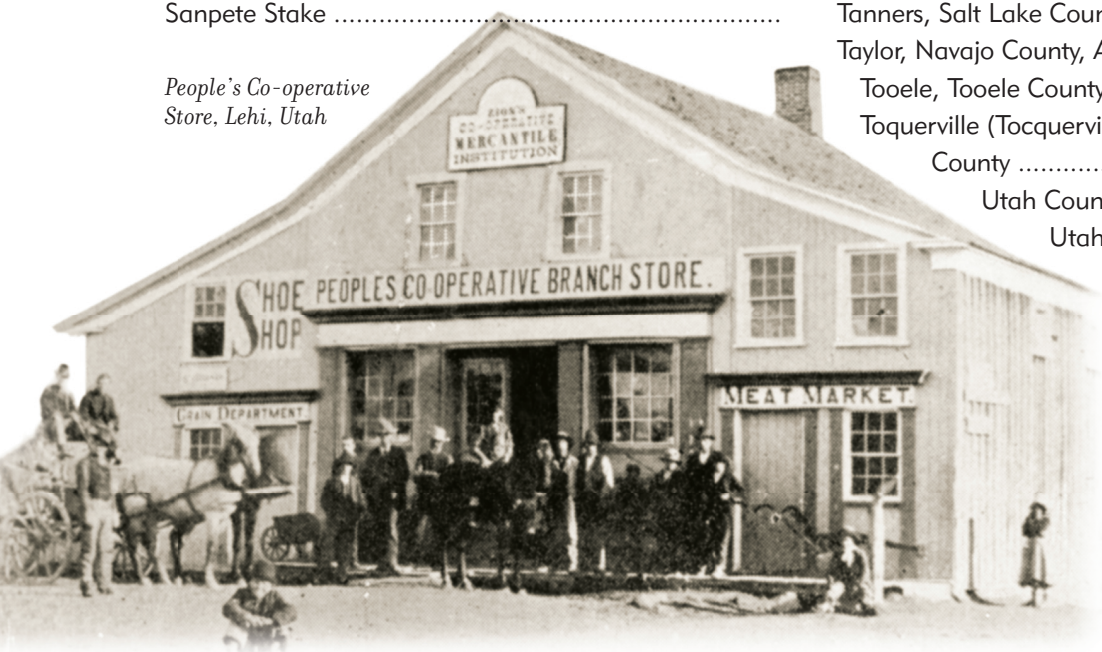
*The Logan Woolen Mills was built from 1875 to 1876 as the Cache Valley United Order Project but was never completed. It is located on the northeast corner of the intersection of 6th East and Canyon Road.*

Kamas, Summit County .....  
 Kanab, Kane County ..... March 12, 1874  
 Kanarraville (Kanarra), Iron County ..... April 7, 1874  
 Kanosh, Millard County .....  
 Kaysville, Davis County .....  
 Kingston, Piute County ..... May 1, 1877  
 Laketown, Rich County ..... May 27, 1874  
 Leeds, Washington County ..... March 19, 1874  
 Lehi, Utah County ..... April 28, 1874  
 Levan, Juab County ..... April 21, 1874  
 Lewiston, Cache County .....  
 Liberty, Bear Lake, Idaho ..... May 22, 1874  
 Liberty, Weber County .....  
 Logan, Cache County .....  
 Logan 1st, Cache County .....  
 Logan 2nd, Cache County .....  
 Logan 3rd, Cache County .....  
 Lynne, Weber County ..... May 22, 1874  
 Malad (Malad City), Oneida County, Idaho .. May 28, 1874  
 Mammoth, Juab County .....  
 Manti, Sanpete County ..... May 26, 1874  
 Mantua, Box Elder County ..... June 3, 1874  
 Marriott's Settlement ..... May 22, 1874  
 Mayfield, Sanpete County ..... September 14, 1874  
 Meadow, Millard County .....  
 Mendon, Cache County .....  
 Mesa, Maricopa County, Arizona .....  
 Millard, Millard County ..... April 15, 1874  
 Millard Stake .....  
 Mill Creek, Salt Lake County ..... June 1, 1874  
 Mill Point, Arizona .....

Millville, Cache County ..... 1874  
 Minersville, Beaver County ..... April 12, 1874  
 Monroe, Sevier County ..... April 26, 1874  
 Montpelier, Bear Lake County, Idaho ..... May 18, 1874  
 Morgan, Morgan County .....  
 Moroni, Sanpete County ..... May 29, 1874  
 Morristown, Washington County ..... March 18, 1874  
 Mt. Carmel, Kane County ..... March 20, 1874  
 Mt. Pleasant, Sanpete County ..... May 28, 1874  
 Mt. Trumbull, Mojave County, Arizona .... May 14, 1874  
 Nephi, Juab County ..... April 19, 1874  
 North Canyon, Davis County ..... June 4, 1874  
 Oak Creek, Millard County .....  
 Obed (Obid), Navajo County, Arizona .....  
 Ogden 1st District, Weber County ..... May 3, 1874  
 Ogden 2nd District, Weber County ..... May 17, 1874  
 Ogden 3rd District, Weber County ..... May 18, 1874  
 Ogden Central, Weber County .....  
 Orderville, Kane County ..... 1875–1900  
 Overton, Clark County, Nevada .....  
 Ovid, Bear Lake County, Idaho ..... May 22, 1874  
 Pahreah (presently Paria), Kane County .... March 15, 1874  
 Panaca, Lincoln County, Nevada ..... March 22, 1874  
 Panguitch, Garfield County ..... June 27, 1874  
 Paradise, Cache County ..... May 16, 1874  
 Paragonah (Paragoonah), Iron County .... April 10, 1874  
 Paris, Bear Lake County, Idaho ..... May 17, 1874  
 Paris, Kane County ..... March 15, 1874  
 Parowan, Iron County ..... April 10, 1874  
 Payson, Utah County ..... May 1, 1874  
 Peoa, Summit County .....  
 Pine Valley, Washington County ..... March 15, 1874  
 Pinto, Washington County ..... March 17, 1874  
 Pintura, Washington County .....  
 Plain City, Weber County ..... May 23, 1874  
 Pleasant Grove, Utah County ..... April 27, 1874  
 Portage, Box Elder County .....  
 Porterville, Morgan County .....  
 Prattville, Sevier County ..... April 23, 1874  
 Price (Heberville Bottoms), Washington  
     County ..... Feb 17, 1874  
 Price, Carbon County .....  
 Provo, Utah County ..... April 26, 1874  
 Provo Central, Utah County ..... April 26, 1874  
 Randolph, Rich County ..... May 28, 1874  
 Richmond, Cache County .....  
 Rockport, Summit County .....

Rockville, Washington County ..... March 6, 1874  
 Salem, Utah County .....  
 Salina, Sevier County ..... April 28, 1874  
 Salt Creek, Arizona .....  
 Salt Lake Central Branch, Salt Lake  
   County ..... May 9, 1874  
 Salt Lake City 1, Salt Lake County ..... August 4, 1875  
 Salt Lake City 1st, Salt Lake County ..... May 23, 1874  
 Salt Lake City 2nd, Salt Lake County ..... May 28, 1874  
 Salt Lake City 3rd (organized as a branch of the  
   8th Ward), Salt Lake County ..... May 26, 1874  
 Salt Lake City 4th, Salt Lake County .....  
 Salt Lake City 5th and 6th (combined), Salt Lake  
   County ..... May 22, 1874  
 Salt Lake City 7th, Salt Lake County ..... May 15, 1874  
 Salt Lake City 8th, Salt Lake County ..... May 19, 1874  
 Salt Lake City 9th, Salt Lake County ..... May 27, 1874  
 Salt Lake City 10th, Salt Lake County ..... May 28, 1874  
 Salt Lake City 11th, Salt Lake County ..... May 21, 1874  
 Salt Lake City 12th, Salt Lake County ..... May 22, 1874  
 Salt Lake City 13th, Salt Lake County ..... June 3, 1874  
 Salt Lake City 14th, Salt Lake County ..... May 13, 1874  
 Salt Lake City 15th, Salt Lake County ..... May 22, 1874  
 Salt Lake City 16th, Salt Lake County ..... May 20, 1874  
 Salt Lake City 17th, Salt Lake County ..... May 27, 1874  
 Salt Lake City 18th, Salt Lake County .....  
 Salt Lake City 19th, Salt Lake County ..... May 24, 1874  
   (reorganized Sept. 9)  
 Salt Lake City 20th, Salt Lake County ..... April 29, 1874  
 Samaria, Oneida County, Idaho ..... May 28, 1874  
 Sanpete South Stake .....  
 Sanpete Stake .....

*People's Co-operative  
Store, Lehi, Utah*



Santa Clara, Washington County ..... February 21, 1874  
 Santaquin, Utah County .....  
 Scipio, Millard County ..... April 16, 1874  
 Sevier Stake, Sevier County ..... May 24, 1874  
 Shunesburg (Shonesburg), Washington  
   County ..... March 5, 1874  
 Simonsville, Arizona .....  
 Slaterville, Weber County ..... May 24, 1874  
 Smithfield, Cache County .....  
 Snowflake, Navajo County, Arizona .....  
 Soda Springs, Oneida County, Idaho .....  
 South Cottonwood, Salt Lake County ..... June 7, 1874  
 South Willow Creek (Draper), Salt Lake  
   County ..... June 7, 1874  
 Southern Utah Mission .....  
 Spanish Fork, Utah County ..... May 2, 1874  
 Spring City, Sanpete County ..... May 27, 1874  
 Springdale, Washington County .....  
 Springlake, Utah County .....  
 Springville, Utah County ..... May 3, 1874  
 St. George, 1st Ward, Washington  
   County ..... February 28, 1874  
 St. Charles, Bear Lake County, Idaho .....  
 St. George, Washington County ..... February 15, 1874  
 St. George Stake ..... February 15, 1874  
 St. Joseph, Clark County, Nevada .....  
 Sugar House, Salt Lake County ..... April 10, 1874  
 Summit Stake, Iron County .....  
 Summit, Iron County .....  
 Sunset, Navajo County, Arizona .....  
 Tailors, Salt Lake County .....  
 Tanners, Salt Lake County .....  
 Taylor, Navajo County, Arizona .....  
 Tooele, Tooele County .....  
 Toquerville (Tocquerville), Washington  
   County ..... March 8, 1874  
   Utah County Central,  
   Utah County ..... April 26, 1874

**Source:**

Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz  
 Y. Fox, and Dean L. May,  
*Building the City of God: Com-  
 munity and Cooperation among  
 the Mormons* (Salt Lake City:  
 Deseret Book, 1976), 414-19.  
*Historic photos (6-8) courtesy  
 Utah State Historical Society.*

## Brigham City, a Co-op Town

**Location:** Box Elder, Utah

**County:** Box Elder

**Monument Number:** 74

**Sponsor:** Box Elder Chapter

**Location:** Brigham Young Park, West Forest Street



*Monument inscription reads:*

Brigham City was the first important Mormon Pioneer Community to organize itself for co-operative activity under a system later incorporated in the United Order of 1874. Approximately 30 or 40 industry branches were established with the aim of providing employment for everyone in producing & manufacturing what they consumed & used. The co-op began as a joint stock enterprise with Elder Lorenzo Snow & three others subscribing 3,000 from 1864 to 1880. The following co-op branches were established: Hog Farm, Furniture Dep., Butcher Dep., Textile Ind., Millinery Shop, Boot and Shoe Fac., Saddle & Harness Shop, Two Saw Mills, Wagon & Carriage, Repair Shop, Tailor & Fancy, Dry Farm, Mulberry Trees, Silk Worms, Cotton Farm, Tin Shop, Pottery Shop, Broom Fac., Cooperage, Brush Fac., Greenhouse & Nursery, Wood Turning, Blacksmith, Planing Mill, Hats & Caps, Rope Fac. The co-op operated in Brigham City for more than 15 years, and had a profound influence on the history of Utah and surrounding areas occupied by the Mormons. It was discontinued in 1880.

## Brigham City Co-op Store

**Location:** Box Elder, Utah

**County:** Box Elder

**Sponsor/Year:** Box Elder

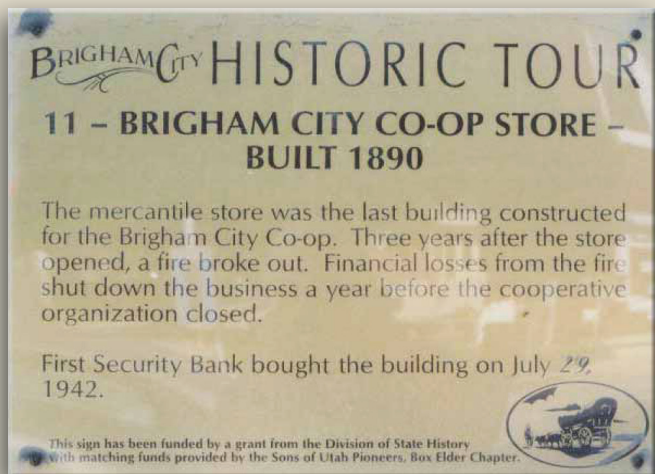
**Chapter/1890**

**Location:** Corner of Main

& Forest (current site of Wells Fargo Bank)



Built in 1890, the mercantile store was the last building constructed from the Brigham City Co-op. Three years after the store opened, a fire destroyed the business, just a year before the co-operative organization closed. First Security Bank bought the building on July 29, 1942.



# Cooperative Community in the North: Brigham City, Utah

**BY LEONARD J. ARRINGTON,**  
*former Church Historian*

**T**he first important Mormon community to organize itself under a system later incorporated in the United Order of 1874 was Brigham City, Utah. Functioning for more than 15 years, the cooperative city exerted profound influence on the history of Utah and surrounding areas. Brigham Young followed its essential structure in establishing the first United Order at St. George, which was then the model for most organizations later that year. Finally, the promoter and leader of the Brigham City cooperative, Lorenzo Snow, later became President of the Church and was to exert a lasting influence on its policies.

Brigham City is situated on Box Elder Creek at the base of the Wasatch Mountains, 60 miles north of Salt Lake City. The town was founded in 1851 and consisted of some six families until 1854–55, when

Lorenzo Snow, called to preside over the Latter-day Saints in that region, moved to Brigham City with 50 additional families.<sup>1</sup>

The families

to settle Brigham City were selected with special care and included a schoolteacher, mason, carpenters, blacksmiths, and other skilled tradesmen. Brigham Young instructed the group to produce all that they consumed.

With a city of almost 1,600 inhabitants to provide for, Apostle Snow supervised the organization in 1864 of a cooperative general store. He intended to use this mercantile cooperative as the basis for the organization of the entire economic life and self-sufficiency of the community.<sup>2</sup> Snow explained the origin of the movement in a letter to Brigham Young: "Some ten years ago and upwards, a number of small mercantile establishments were located in our city, owned principally by speculators, who possessed no interest in common with the people. I proposed to such as were inclined to do so, to unite on some co-operative system for the general welfare and interest of the community. Some consented, whereupon we organized the Brigham City Co-operative Association, giving all an opportunity of taking stock and enjoying equal rights and privileges."<sup>3</sup>

This original association was nothing more than a joint-stock enterprise. It was an immediate success, however, and other stockholders were attracted to the endeavor, though some had concerns. As Snow later related: "It required some effort on the part of our stockholders to reconcile their feelings with a knowledge of their duty and obligations as elders of Israel and servants of God. A good spirit, however, prevailed, and a desire to build up the kingdom of God and work for the interest of the people, outweighed all selfish considerations; hence, consent was granted by all the stockholders to establish home industries and draw dividends in the kinds produced."<sup>4</sup>

Eventually, the association was to sponsor the development of virtually every industry in the city. Utilizing the labor of the community, the group built a two-story tannery building. Nearly all worked for capital stock, although one-fourth wages were paid out to "those who needed it."<sup>5</sup> The leather produced at the tannery was reputed to be "equal in quality to the best Eastern oaked tanned leather."<sup>6</sup> The tannery was expanded to meet all the leather needs of the community, and some leather products were sold for cash.<sup>7</sup>

After incorporating these enterprises in 1870,<sup>8</sup> the group constructed a woolen factory.<sup>9</sup> The factory did business in yarns, blankets, men's and women's wear, and similar products.

Simultaneously, the association began to build up the sheep herd. In this way a "dependable supply of wool" for the factory was provided. By 1879 the herd had grown to well above 10,000. Soon afterward, another herd of a thousand animals was established to an association meat market.<sup>10</sup>

By 1874, virtually the entire economic life of this community of 400 families was owned and directed by the cooperative association. Each household obtained its food, clothing, and other necessities from the 40 community departments.<sup>11</sup> Almost complete self-sufficiency had been attained, and some products were "exported" to other northern Utah settlements.<sup>12</sup>

Food enterprises included a dairy consisting of 500 milk cows. Established in 1871, it was reputed to be the first "commercial" dairy in Utah. Some 100 hogs were raised in connection with the dairy. A butcher department prepared the meat for "sale." Several molasses mills and a number of farms were operated by the agricultural department. A horticultural department planted flowers, shrubs, vines, and orchards. The group also maintained an "Indian Farm" upon which Indians in the vicinity were established and taught the art of agriculture.<sup>13</sup>

Construction enterprises included three sawmills; brick and adobe shops; a lime kiln; a blacksmith shop; a furniture shop; a two-story factory for wood turning; architect, carpentry, mason, and painting departments; and more. A public works department built roads, bridges, dams, canals, and public buildings.

By 1874 the cooperative mercantile establishment was doing \$30,000's worth of business annually. It was the only store in the city. According to Apostle Snow, "Several parties have set up stores at various times since the organization of our Co-operative, and entered into competition but could

**B**y 1874 the cooperative mercantile establishment was doing \$30,000 worth of business annually. The value today of \$30,000's is equal to a staggering \$594,000!

not obtain sufficient patronage to make it a success, and while they received the sad experience of disappointment the city treasury received the benefit of their licenses. All the business men and the majority of the people have more or less interest in this co-operative association, and the profits arising from their patronage . . . goes to support home institutions; therefore, the people generally feel to sustain their own mercantile establishment."<sup>14</sup>

The Brigham City business became so profitable that they contemplated opening a branch house in Logan,<sup>15</sup> but this would have come in competition with the Logan Branch of ZCMI and with the Logan U. O. store, which dissuaded officials.

Other enterprises included a tin shop, rope factory, pottery shop, broom factory, cooperage, greenhouse and nursery, brush factory, and a wagon and carriage repair shop. An education department supervised the school and seminary. There was also a "tramp department," which utilized the labor of tramps through chopping wood and other odd jobs.<sup>16</sup>

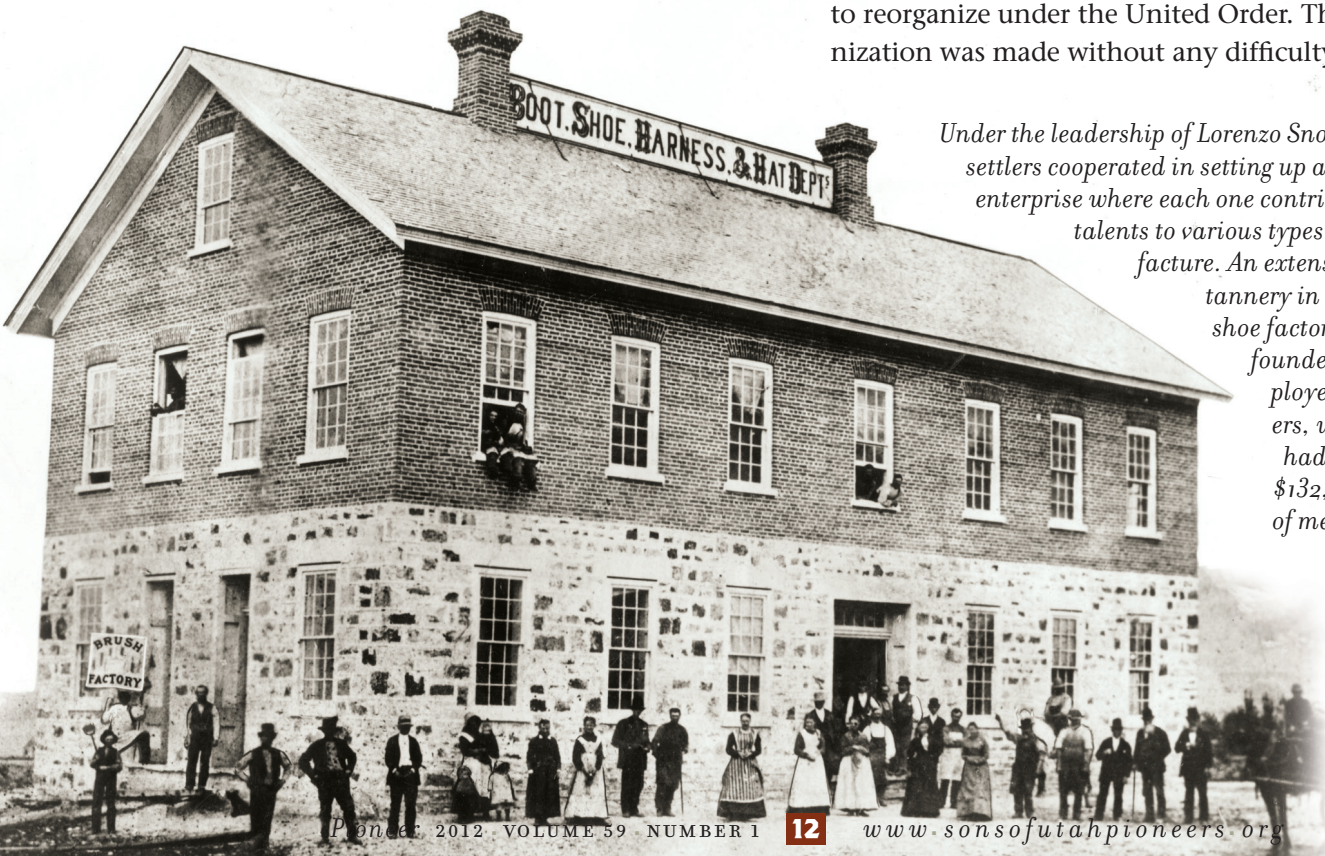
Each department had clearly delineated responsibilities and was operated under the supervision of an overseer or superintendent. A general superintendent (Lorenzo Snow) was in charge of the operations of all departments.

Superintendents and workers alike were paid wages which were commensurate with those being paid elsewhere in the nation. The general superintendent, Lorenzo Snow, reported himself as working "for nothing." Snow added: "I have labored to inspire the overseers of the various departments with a proper sense of their obligations to the people, to be satisfied with a reasonable wage, and be willing that their abilities should be employed, to a certain extent, for the building up of Zion. I endeavor to influence all our laboring hands not to be greedy for high wages, and also those who furnish the capital, to be satisfied with reasonable dividends, and thus work together in harmony on principles of equal justice, that the Lord may take cognizance of our works, and bestow blessings of prosperity and salvation in the hour of necessity."<sup>17</sup>

**E**cclesiastical influence was strong throughout the Brigham City cooperative, and the motto in business transactions was said to be "as with the Priest, so with the people."<sup>18</sup>

In 1874, at the climax of the drive to organize United Orders throughout Utah, a delegation of members of the First Presidency and Quorum of Twelve Apostles of the Church attended a stake conference in Brigham City and asked the people to reorganize under the United Order. The reorganization was made without any difficulty or great

*Under the leadership of Lorenzo Snow, Mormon settlers cooperated in setting up a common enterprise where each one contributed their talents to various types of manufacture. An extension of the tannery in 1870, the shoe factory was soon founded and employed 30 workers, who by 1877 had produced \$132,000 worth of merchandise.*



change. As Brigham Young said, "Brother Snow has led the people along, and got them into the United Order without their knowing it."<sup>19</sup>

Each member was made a steward over all his possessions. A man saved by accumulating credits or certificates of indebtedness. One observer noted that: "If [any Brigham City] brethren should be so unfortunate as to have any of their property destroyed by fire, or otherwise, the U. O. will rebuild or replace such property for them. When these brethren, or any other members of the U. O., die, the directors become the guardians of the family, caring for the interests and inheritances of the deceased for the benefit and maintenance of the wives and children, and when the sons are married, giving them a house and stewardship as the father would have done for them. Like care will be taken of their interests if they are sent on missions, or are taken sick."<sup>20</sup>

Co-op officials attempted to provide suitable work for every person desiring employment. Because virtually the entire town worked for the cooperative, working hours were uniformly regulated by the ringing of a bell in the courthouse tower.<sup>21</sup>

All in all, the town must have been a hive of industry. One correspondent to the *Deseret News* reported: "I did not see a loafer, or an idle man, boy, woman, or girl during my visit; industry, prosperity and contentment seemed to characterize the entire community."<sup>22</sup> Publicity concerning the Brigham City Order even reached England, as Edward Tullidge wrote: "It was in review of just such a social problem as that which this apostle [Lorenzo Snow] brought to a promising issue [at Brigham City] which caused the learned socialist, Brontier O'Brian, a quarter of a century ago, to proclaim to his class in Europe that the Mormons had 'created a soul under the rib of death.' . . . At that time the attention of the socialists of England was attracted to the social problems of the Mormon people. Reynolds, Bradlaugh, Holyoak, Barker, O'Brian and others held the Mormons up to admiration. . . ."<sup>23</sup>

Most observers of the system thought the chief advantage to the city was the promotion of "home industry." One correspondent wrote to the *Salt Lake Herald* in 1876 that "If the example of the inhabitants of this town was more generally

followed, Utah would be far more prosperous and her people much better off. Our present suicidal policy of exporting raw materials and importing manufactured articles would be stopped, we would be far more independent of our sister states and territories; the financial panics of the east or west would not affect us; our people would all have good homes and enjoy more of the comforts of life than they can hope for under present regulations; and our children would stand a much better chance of receiving good educations and becoming useful members of a society."<sup>24</sup>

Nevertheless, Brigham Young's successor as President of the Church, John Taylor, did not want to put the final stamp of approval on the Brigham City organization. Said President Taylor: "There are some things that Brother Lorenzo Snow is doing that are very creditable; but it is not the United Order. He is working with the people something after the same principle that our sisters teach the little ones to walk. They stand them in a sort of chair which rolls along, and the babies appear delighted; they think they are walking. But we have not learned how to walk yet. . . ."<sup>25</sup>

**T**he Brigham City Order seemed to be functioning beautifully in 1877; it was attracting widespread attention in Utah and elsewhere. But it was apparent that further growth would bring incalculable management problems. An 1877 letter from Apostle Snow to Brigham Young indicates that Church leaders were aware of the problems. In his letter, Apostle Snow revealed the anxieties which plagued him and provided a glimpse of the behind-the-scenes reflections of a wise man.<sup>26</sup>

"In working up to the principles we call the United Order we have shouldered very serious responsibilities. Over one thousand persons, little and big are depending entirely upon the Institution for all their supplies, for their food, their clothing, and all their comforts and conveniences. Over

*I did not see a loafer, or an idle man, boy, woman, or girl during my visit; industry, prosperity and contentment seemed to characterize the entire community."*  
—Deseret News, August 31, 1875.



one thousand more living in our City are more or less dependent upon this Institution. . . .

"We give a very few families, in harvest time, their supplies of breadstuff for the year. . . . Two-thirds of this, or more, we have to purchase by our home manufactures, and more or less outside of our county. This considerably encroaches upon our requirements for our manufactured goods to raise cash to assist in defraying our money expenses which average at least one hundred dollars per day. . . .

"Nothing satisfies the seller but cash articles of which at our present stage of progress we have difficulty in producing a sufficiency to meet these two heavy demands, the cash and breadstuff. These two demands coming upon us at once constitute our one serious source of difficulty or fear of future embarrassment. We can very well meet either one alone but it requires more faith and financiering ability to meet them both than I like to assume. . . .

"We have been now twelve years engaged in this business, striving to unite the people in their business affairs, classifying and assigning them severally to such departments of industry as would best promote individual and general interest and of building up the Kingdom of God.

"I guard against adopting the principles faster than the virtue, faith and intelligence of the people will sustain them lest I be left alone, and I think I move quite as fast as can be done with safety. I try to keep two objects in view — to amalgamate the feelings of the people and to establish a

financial system in which everybody can secure necessities and conveniences of life through their labour and be preserved from the evils and corruption of outside influences.

"These two objects have already been achieved to some extent and the prospects for the future are very encouraging; but the care, the anxiety and the excessive mental toil and labor are quite sufficient to subdue any feeling of pride and vanity if any such existed for any outside applause.

"When Israel left their leeks and onions by the direction of Moses they looked to him for their supplies, and became very quarrelsome and troublesome whenever they failed. This is a feature in the United Order which I contemplate with no small degree of anxiety. . . .

"I confess, in the solemn silence of the night, that I have sometimes inquired of myself, where are we drifting, in following this untrodden path for many generations, and in sailing upon a sea so little known and unexplored? Is there not danger of getting an elephant on our hands (to use a common phrase) that our wisdom and ability cannot manage or support? In other words, may we not drift into responsibilities that would be difficult or even impossible to discharge? . . .

"We have gradually, imperceptibly, and without calculation or previous design, drifted into possession of all the principle channels, and main arteries of business, trades, manufacture, and all industries which are carried on in Brigham City and in many of the surrounding settlements. . . . But this amalgamation, absorption, monopolizing and gathering into one, and centralizing of all our industries, thrown upon myself, is a responsibility that I should never dared to have assumed. In fact I never anticipated such a result, though I have felt it gradually approaching, but yet could not see how to escape and be justified."

It was during these months of introspection that a series of disasters befell the Order. Once again, the difficulties are best described by

Apostle Snow, writing in 1879 to Franklin D. Richards two years after the misfortunes began: "Two years ago today, about two o'clock in the morning, we were aroused from our slumbers by the ringing of bells and startling cries of fire! fire! fire! Our woolen factory was all in flames, and in less than thirty minutes, the whole establishment with its entire contents of machinery, wool, warps and cloth lay in ashes.

"This involved a cash loss of over \$30,000. While viewing the building, as it was rapidly consuming, my mind became agitated with painful thoughts and reflections, whether the people could sustain the severe pressure which would bear upon them through this unforeseen calamity, or lose heart and courage in supporting our principles of union. These misgivings, however, were unfounded; for the people resolved, at once, to try again. . . .

"But this involved us in a large indebtedness. . . . We engaged a large contract [and everything was] moving along prosperously: when, suddenly, through the influence of apostates, aided by a mobocratic judge, a raid was made upon our camps, thirty or forty of our workmen were arrested and imprisoned and our operations stopped.<sup>27</sup> And, although the embargo on our business was withdrawn and the men liberated, . . . it came too late, so we were compelled to abandon this enterprise. . . .

## Brigham City Tannery



"The following July [1878], a tax of \$10,200 was levied on our scrip, by O. J. Hollister, U.S. Assessor and Collector of Internal Revenue. Though illegal, unjust and highly absurd, the payment could not be avoided.<sup>28</sup> Through these and other unfortunate occurrences we became greatly embarrassed in our business. This embarrassment . . . has been brought about, through a succession of calamities, unparalleled in the experience of any business firm in this or any other Territory. . . .

"There appeared now but one course left for us to pursue, viz: curtail our business, close several of our departments, lessen the business of others, and dispose of such property as will assist in discharging our cash obligations. . . .

"Accordingly, we have labored faithfully to this end, and . . . we are now nearly out of debt. . . .

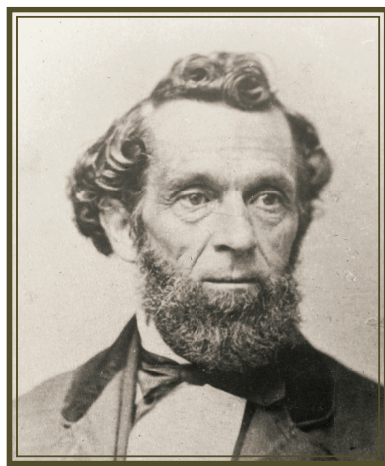
"Notwithstanding our severe reverses and the fiery ordeal through which we have passed, the confidence of the people in our principles of union has been preserved and they feel that we have worked earnestly and unselfishly to secure their interests and promote their general welfare."<sup>29</sup>

**B**righam City leaders decided to permit private individuals to establish business houses and thus to return to a system of semi-private property. This tendency was never reversed. In 1885 Lorenzo Snow was indicted on a charge of unlawful cohabitation and served 11 months in the Utah Penitentiary before his conviction was set aside. Continued federal prosecution further hampered the activities of community and ecclesiastical leaders. Finally, as the result of the depression of the 1890s, the cooperative store went bankrupt. The cooperative store building and grounds were taken over by the Deseret Savings Bank.<sup>30</sup>

The experience of the Brigham City cooperative is perhaps best summarized by the last entry in the

**W**e engaged a large contract [and everything was] moving along prosperously: when, suddenly, through the influence of apostates, aided by a mobocratic judge, a raid was made upon our camps, thirty or forty of our workmen were arrested and imprisoned and our operations stopped."  
—Lorenzo Snow, 1877.

minute book, which attributes to Lorenzo Snow these words: "Because of many losses and disasters . . . we have discontinued some of our enterprises and curtailed others. Yet for a period of fifteen years, our union has prevented division in mercantile business; say nothing about many other things which have been done by our union, and I have nothing to regret of all we have accomplished. We have kept out our enemies, and in all these matters we did them by common consent."<sup>31</sup> ❏



*Lorenzo Snow*

1 See "Journal History" (Church History Library, Salt Lake City; hereafter cited as CHL), Oct. 7, 1853; *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), Oct. 15, 1853.

2 The primary source material on the Brigham City cooperative and United Order includes (a) Letters of Lorenzo Snow to Brigham Young, Bishop Henry Lunt, and Franklin D. Richards, as published in the *Deseret Evening News*, Aug. 20, 1873; Edward W. Tullidge, ed., *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine*, 2 (Jan., 1883), 400–407 (hereafter cited as T.Q.M.); and Eliza Roxey Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow . . .* (Salt Lake City, 1884), 291–96; (b) The manuscript "History of Box Elder Stake" (CHL); (c) The "Journal History" entries between 1864 and 1880; (d) "Scribbling Book" of Brigham City, containing copies of letters by Lorenzo Snow; (e) Minute and account books of Brigham City cooperative enterprises (CHL). Secondary source material: "United Order of Northern Utah," *Heart Throbs of the West* (1936), 1:53–56; Daughters of Utah Pioneers of Box Elder County, comp., *History of Box Elder County* (Brigham City, [1937]); and Edward W. Tullidge, "Box Elder County," *Tullidge's Histories . . .* 2 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1889), 2:289–304; Feramorz Y. Fox, "Experiments in Cooperation and Social Security among the Mormons" (CHL), Chap. 6; Edward J. Allen, *The Second United Order among the Mormons* (New York, 1936); and Arden B. Olsen, "The History of Mormon Mercantile Cooperation in Utah" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of California, Berkeley, 1935), esp. 109–17.

3 Lorenzo Snow to Brigham Young, Aug. 6, 1873, *Deseret Evening News* (Salt Lake City), Aug. 20, 1873.

4 Lorenzo Snow to Bishop Henry Lunt, Oct., 1876, T.Q.M., 2 (Jan. 1883): 401.

5 Snow to Lunt, 401–2.

6 "History of Box Elder Stake," July 12, 1872.

7 "History of Box Elder Stake," Oct. 28, 1877; Snow to Lunt, T.Q.M., 2 (Jan. 1883): 401–2; Snow to Young, *Deseret Evening News*, Aug. 20, 1873.

8 The articles of incorporation are in the Box Elder County Courthouse, Brigham City, Utah.

9 Snow to Lunt, T.Q.M., 2 (Jan. 1883): 402; Snow to Young, *Deseret Evening News*, Aug. 20, 1873.

10 Snow to Lunt, T.Q.M., 2 (Jan. 1883): 402; Snow to Young, *Deseret Evening News*, Aug. 20, 1873.

11 "History of Box Elder Stake," July 12, 1872; Oct. 28, 1877; Apr. 28, 1878.

12 Correspondent John R. Morgan, writing to the *Deseret News* under date of July 12, 1872.

13 Snow to Lunt, T.Q.M., 2 (Jan. 1883): 402; D.U.P., *History of Box Elder County*, 49.

14 Snow to Young, *Deseret Evening News*, Aug. 20, 1873; "The United Order Minutes," of July 20, 1880, cited in Fox, "Experiments in Cooperation," chap. 6, p. 12 fn. 2.

15 *Salt Lake Herald*, Oct. 25, 1876.

16 "History of Box Elder Stake," Oct. 28, 1877.

17 Snow to Young, *Deseret Evening News*, Aug. 20, 1873.

18 *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, 38 (Liverpool, 1876): 695.

19 Sermon of Apr. 21, 1878, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool, 1854–1886), 19:345.

20 *Deseret News*, Aug. 31, 1875.

21 D.U.P., *History of Box Elder County*, 110.

22 *Deseret News*, Aug. 31, 1875.

23 T.Q.M., 2 (Jan. 1883): 400.

24 "Successful Co-operation," *Salt Lake Herald*, Oct. 25, 1876.

25 Sermon of John Taylor, Aug. 4, 1878, *Journal of Discourses*, 20:44–45. See also Leonard J. Arrington, *Orderville, Utah: A Pioneer Mormon Experiment in Economic Organization* (Logan, 1954), 27–36.

26 Letter found in "Scribbling Book."

27 The charge against the Brigham City workmen was cutting United States timber reserves. The Mormons believed, as Snow intimated, that the charge was unfair and was motivated by the desire to hamper their economic growth.

28 Federal agents in Utah in the late 1870s and 1880's were not only hostile to the Mormons, but to cooperative enterprises as well. They found in the thriving Brigham City and similar orders a threat to the establishment and growth of non-Mormon capitalistic enterprises; hence a number of fines, court actions, and other harassments.

29 Lorenzo Snow to Franklin D. Richards, Nov. 1, 1879, T.Q.M., 2 (Jan. 1883): 403–5.

30 D.U.P., *History of Box Elder County*, 117–18.

31 "United Order Minutes," MS, (CHL), July 20, 1880.

*Statute at Brigham Young Historic Park (10) © Scott B. Froerer; historic photos (12–16) courtesy Utah State Historical Society.*

# Interview Questions for Entry into the Order

**W**hen people were interviewed by the ecclesiastical leaders before being admitted to the order, they were asked an extensive list of questions about their character, their devotion to the idea of cooperation, and their willingness to sacrifice for the work of God. These questions included the following:

1. What is your object in seeking to unite yourself with this Company? Do you believe the Lord requires you to take this course?
2. Have you a family? If so, what is the number? Are they one with you without exception in the course you wish to take? What is your present situation in regard to food and clothing? Do you train your family in the fear of the Lord? Do they seem to practice your teaching and walk according to your example?
3. Are you in debt, or is there any person or persons that claim to have any pretext for claim against you or yours? If so, what is the nature of the pretext or the amount of your indebtedness?
4. Is there any incumbrance on any pieces of property which you have in your possession?
5. Are you willing for yourself and all you possess to be governed and controlled by the Board of Management, or any person or persons authorized for them to act?
6. Do you think that you could come and make your permanent home with this company of people, and, if necessary, put up with all the inconveniences that older members had and have without murmuring or fault-finding or become dissatisfied and wishing to withdraw from the company and thereby putting the practice to unnecessary trouble and inconveniences?
7. Are you willing to practice economy in all the points and bearings, and try to content yourself although you may think that your trials are hard at times?
8. Do you use tobacco, tea, or coffee, or indulge in drinking intoxicating drinks?
9. Are you in the habit of stealing or taking that which does not belong to you personally?
10. Are you in the habit of lying or backbiting, or slandering your brethren or sisters?
11. Are you in the habit of swearing or using profane oaths or taking the name of the Lord in vain?
12. Are you in the habit of using vulgar or obscene jests or conduct?
13. Are you in the habit of quarreling? If so, will you cease from this?
14. Are you in the habit of giving way to bad temper and abusing dumb animals? If so, will you cease from such conduct?
15. Will you take a course when you find a brother or a sister out of temper to maintain the peace by saying nothing to aggravate, and silently walk away if he or she shall not cease?
16. Are you willing to work the same as the rest of the company according to your strength and ability and for the same recompense as your peers?
17. Are you willing to be subject to those who are placed over you and do as you are told cheerfully and not sullenly?
18. Are you willing to conform to the rules of good order in all things and not appropriate to your use or the use of the company any tool or implement of husbandry or any kind of produce without first obtaining the permission to do so from persons having charge of such tools, implements, produce, or other property?
19. Will you try to the best of your ability to maintain the peace and prosperity of this Order and as much as lies in your power, deal honestly, impartially, and justly in all transactions you may be called upon to perform from time to time? ☒



## United Order Pictured

*The Deseret News* - March 25, 1961

# Muralist Gives Huge Painting To Orderville Ward

**ORDERVILLE, UTAH** — The historic effort of residents of Orderville in southern Utah to live the United Order under the directions of Brigham Young in 1875 has been commemorated in a large mural painted by Edith Hamlin Dale, nationally known muralist.

This mural, 13½ feet by 4½ feet, depicts the original Orderville settlement and its pioneer residents on the occasion of President Young's one and only visit to it in 1877 shortly before his death.

Mrs. Dale is not a member of the Church but has spent most of her summers at her

home in Orderville for the past 20 years.

Orderville Ward authorities were happy to receive the painting which will help to keep alive in the memories of the present generation the 11 years of successful living of the United Order in this community.

President Young began the United Order movement in St. George and other settlements of the Rio Virgin Valley in 1874. Formal organization of the order went forward after President Young presented the movement to the spring general conference.

Development of this movement was not uniform. In some places it took on the form of strict community life, holding property in common, and in some instances the community lived as one family as at Orderville, in Long Valley, Kane County.

The United Order movement faded out under the increasing complexity of life in Utah and the influx of non-Mormon population. Leaders of the Church also wished to avoid dividing membership into two groups, those who belonged and those who did not. Entering the order was never compulsory.



Photo by Dilleen Marsh

## Edith Anne Hamlin and Maynard Dixon

Edith Hamlin was born in 1902, in Oakland, California, where she later studied art at the California School of Fine Arts, and she then studied at the Teachers College at Columbia University in New York.

Born on a ranch near Fresno, California, in 1875, Maynard Dixon became a noted illustrator, landscape, and mural painter of the early 20th-century American West, especially the desert, Indians, early settlers, and cowboys.

In the spring of 1937, Maynard met with Herald R. Clark, the dean

of Brigham Young University's School of Business, and agreed to sell 85 paintings, sketches, and drawings from the span of his entire career for \$3,700. BYU has the largest museum collection of Maynard Dixon lifework paintings.

In September 1937, Edith Hamlin married Maynard Dixon (29 years her senior), and in 1939 they moved to Tucson, Arizona. They also purchased 20 acres, set in a grove of cottonwood trees, in the small town of Mount Carmel, Utah, where they built a log-style home. Mount Carmel was their summer retreat from the Arizona desert heat. At this location they spent

many days painting the beauty of the region and the pastoral scenes of the area's numerous farms.

Maynard Dixon wrote, "Big news is we are going to quit Calif. & build us a log house in Utah, far from any large town. Mormons are simple honest farming people. We like them."

Together, Maynard Dixon and Edith Hamlin painted western scenes in Arizona and Utah until Maynard Dixon's death in 1946. After his death, Edith Hamlin returned to San Francisco, where she continued to paint landscapes and murals for the remainder of her life. ▣

See [www.maynarddixon.org](http://www.maynarddixon.org) and [www.edithhamlin.com](http://www.edithhamlin.com)

# Orderville

## THE EXPERIMENT IN COMMUNAL LIVING

**BY MARTHA  
SONNTAG  
BRADLEY,**

*University of Utah  
professor*

**M**ormon Church leaders Brigham Young, Orson Pratt, and others designed a religious economic order they called the “United Order of Enoch.”

Traveling throughout Utah Territory, Young organized settlers—in some places as wards and in other places as towns—into united orders, saying: “Our object is to labor for the benefit of the whole; to retrench in our expenditures, to be prudent and economical, to study well the necessities of the community and to pass by its many useless wants, to study to secure life, health, wealth and union.”<sup>1</sup>

At a general conference held on May 9, 1874, in Salt Lake City—which had been postponed so that Brigham Young could personally explain the policies and procedures of the order—Church leaders detailed how members would contribute their property and jointly manage businesses. Ideally, all property would be held in common except houses and residential lots, although each united order established its own rules. Kane County became the site of the most complete experiment with the united order and communal living: Orderville.

With its isolated location, remote from population centers or major transportation routes, Orderville provided a good setting for the independent



social experiment. Situated approximately 70 miles east of St. George and 22 miles northwest of Kanab, Orderville residents took advantage of the area’s natural resources. Land was fertile in places, and

the surrounding grazing land was ideal for raising stock. Extensive timber in the nearby mountains provided fuel and lumber. The Virgin River supplied water for irrigation and culinary purposes.

The Orderville United Order was officially organized on July 14, 1875. A board of nine directors was elected and given the responsibility of organizing and supervising labor and resources. The directors made some decisions independent of the group, but most business transactions were brought before a meeting of the entire order for approval or disapproval. The order was incorporated for a period of 25 years, with a maximum capitalization of \$100,000—which consisted of 10,000 shares at 10 dollars each. Each donor received book credit for capital stock in the corporation according to the value of his or her contribution. It was formally agreed that such stock did not entitle the “owner” to dividends or to any share of the corporation’s assets.<sup>2</sup>

Because the order was a religious effort above all else, members were rebaptized when it was first

organized in an effort to rededicate themselves to the work of the Lord. They were placed under a solemn covenant to obey certain rules set forth by Brigham Young. Numerous accounts of the order show that its members believed they were working for the Kingdom of God, and the objectives of the order reflected the religious concepts adhered to by the Mormons.

All economic efforts organized under the umbrella of the united order were managed by a board composed of a president, two vice-presidents, a secretary, a treasurer, and four directors. Yearly elections allowed many to serve in these roles. The nine officers supervised property purchases and administration, directed the labor force, invested surplus funds, borrowed for investments, and regulated daily affairs of the group. Furthermore, the order consisted of 33 different departments, each with department heads and assigned duties of workers. Departments included blacksmithing, wagon repair, boarding house, board of appraisers, board of sisters, cabinet and carpentry, canal, commissary, coopering, cotton farm, farming, freighting, gardening, gristmill, poultry, home improvement, knitting, livestock, dairy, midwifery, millinery, public works, sawmill, schools, sheep, shoe shop, soap and broom, stock feeding, tailoring, tannery, telegraph, and tin shop. Members were assigned to be assistants in the departments.

Membership qualifications for the Orderville United Order included membership in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and a general judgment of an individual's moral and religious character, rather than his or her economic status. Applicants answered questions about their expectations, why they wanted to enter the order, and what they were willing to give up. Generally, nearly everyone who applied to join was admitted.

In Orderville there would be no private property, and it was agreed that among the participants

all "things shall be done by common consent."<sup>3</sup> When people were interviewed by ecclesiastical leaders before being admitted to the order, they were asked an extensive list of questions about their character, their devotion to the idea of co-operation, and their willingness to sacrifice for the work of God.

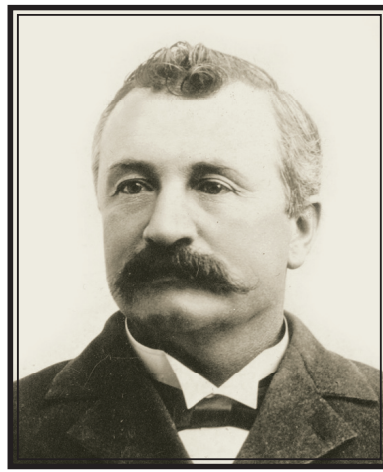
Initially, all members were required to deed their property, both real and personal, to the order; therefore, all wealth became common. Individuals were made stewards over their own personal effects such as clothing, books, furniture, and jewelry. And, although it is true that there were no rich or poor, it is more accurate to say that all were relatively poor. Strict accounts recorded wages and transactions. Men received \$1.50 credit for a day's work; boys 11 to 17 years old worked for credit of 75 cents per day. Girls from 10 to 13 worked each day for 25 cents; those under 10 worked for half that amount. Adults were charged 50 dollars a year for rent on their living spaces. The typical shanty home had a



*Sacrament items on display at the Long Valley Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum in Orderville, Utah. Photo by Dilleen Marsh. Orderville image (20) from Paul Wayne Carroll and Russell M. Robison, Our Carroll Heritage: A Tapestry of the Charles N. Carroll Family. See <http://www.lulu.com/shop/search.ep?contributorId=317459>*

living room 12 feet square and an adjoining bedroom that was 8 feet by 12 feet. Annual clothing charges were \$17.50 for men and \$16.50 for women. Children's clothing ranged from one-half to three-fourths of the adult costs.

Howard Spencer was chosen to be the original president of the Orderville United Order; however, within two years he stepped down to let Thomas Chamberlain become president. Chamberlain is usually given credit for the success of the venture. His expert managerial skills and generally affable personality made him a most suitable leader for the group. As bishop of the Orderville LDS Ward, Chamberlain orchestrated both the temporal and spiritual welfare of his ward members. In addition to the core group who had learned to work together in the Muddy River Mission, Brigham Young also sent to Orderville emigrants from Great Britain and Scandinavia.



*Thomas Chamberlain*

The fact that Orderville was established a few years after the towns of Winsor (Mt. Carmel) and Berryville (Glendale) was an advantage to the new settlers, who could obtain lumber from existing sawmills and build faster than those in the older towns. In the fall of 1874, the same year the first united order was started, a water-driven pit sawmill was purchased, and with this mill Jonathan Heaton and Allen Frost produced the lumber used to construct the order's first generation of frame buildings. Thomas Chamberlain and Christopher Heaton cut the timber in a nearby canyon, while Henry W. and John J. Esplin hauled logs to the mill. Soon a second mill, a steam-powered sawmill, was purchased; it was run by B. H. Williams and Isaiah Bowers. Throughout the order's history, nearly all of its buildings were frame structures made with lumber from these local mills. The order also purchased a flour mill from a farmer in Glendale for \$3,000.

Upon selecting the location of the town, a survey was made, centered on a public block. In

the middle of the block, a frame community dining hall, 25 by 40 feet, was built. Adjoining it were a kitchen and a bakery with a large brick oven and large troughs for bread mixing. To the northeast, a fort-like complex was built of rows of shanties erected in sections of eight. These housed families, and the high sides of these shed-roofed cabins, together with the tall board fences that connected them, constituted the outside walls of the "fort."

A two-story "Big House" with an upstairs porch running around it contained many small rooms to house the families of the order's board of directors and other leaders. Thomas Chamberlain and his five wives lived in the Big House. Buildings were arranged in a square, and the south side of the square was enclosed by a board fence with a gate. The entries to the shanties faced the interior courtyard of the square, and a wooden boardwalk ran along the fronts of the buildings. Trees and flowers were planted to beautify the compound and a flagpole was placed in front



*Pioneer shoes on display at the Long Valley Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum in Orderville, Utah. Photo by Dilleen Marsh.*

of the dining hall. The American flag added to the appearance of a military encampment. In fact, a bugler or martial band announced the beginning of the work day each morning at 5:00 a.m., breakfast at 7:00 a.m., lunch at 12:00 noon, dinner at 6:30 p.m., and curfew at 9:00 p.m.

**A**s the population grew, more buildings were constructed. A Relief Society hall went up inside the square near the Big House. The residential sections were connected by fences and gates. Running the length of the shanties and fences were broad plank sidewalks lined with flowers, tamarisks, and box elder trees. Until the Relief Society hall was constructed, public gatherings were held in the dining room.

After its organization, the Orderville United Order began purchasing equipment and creating businesses to provide services and produce income for the group. The town's tannery produced a high grade of leather, which was made into boots, shoes, harnesses, and saddles at a leather shop. In 1879, for instance, the tannery produced 717 pairs of shoes and boots and repaired 674 pairs of shoes.<sup>4</sup>

Furniture, spinning wheels, and cabinets produced at the cabinet shop rivaled the best in the region. The cooper's shop produced buckets, tubs, and barrels. A dairy farm located 11 miles outside of town produced cheese and butter for sale. An order-owned farm in Moccasin Springs, Arizona, produced large quantities of molasses. In 1876 the group purchased capital stock in the Rio Virgin Manufacturing Company in Washington County, Utah. They exchanged wool for cloth and produced woolen goods at this mill. They also purchased a farm one mile south of town. A new

town, Enterprise, sprang up around this particular farm, which included a cotton gin, spinning wheels, and looms to convert cotton into cloth.

From 1881 to 1883, the order's members built a woolen factory above Glendale at a cost of \$8,500. Because the order was on the decline at this time, this venture failed not long after its organization.

The woolen factory was a major enterprise, producing the types of clothing needed by the community. But because secondhand machinery was installed, the quality of the cloth was somewhat poor. The factory was a large, three-level, wooden structure with rows of dormers across the gabled roof. A flume brought water from a nearby creek to the waterwheel. Joseph Hopkins of Glendale eventually installed a new metal turbine. The building was so large that there was enough open space to hold meetings and dances there. Workers lived in a row of frame shanties northwest of the factory, where a blacksmith shop was also located. A small community developed there, complete with a branch of the LDS church.

Allen Frost and his family joined the Orderville United Order after 1874. There he

worked at a variety of jobs—at the sawmill, doing carpenter work and masonry, bookkeeping, and teaching school.<sup>5</sup> In 1877 Hattie Esplin's family moved to Long Valley and joined the people at Orderville. She reported later, "They sold all they had and turned into the common fund. They lived in the fort in a lumber cabin in the northwest corner of the fort where the Tithing Lot was."<sup>6</sup>

**T**he Charles N. Carroll family joined the Orderville United Order in 1878. Daughter Emma Carroll wrote a memoir published in 1939 of her life there as a child. She wrote in part: "Perhaps



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the most unique thing among us was community eating. It excited more curiosity, incited more ridicule and brought more aspersions upon us than any other one thing and much more than was warranted. The dining hall was in the center of the enclosed square, with the kitchen to the north and bakery in the basement immediately under it. About three hundred pounds of flour was made into bread each day, mixed in a large wooden mixer seven feet long by two and one-half feet wide. Occasionally a few children lingered to watch the bread mixing process, which was usually left until the last thing before closing up at night. Vegetables such as potatoes, squash, etc., were baked in large quantities, as well as meats and occasionally pies, cookies, and puddings; these were a real treat, however, as they did not come often. The kitchen was a large room, the west side of which was partitioned off for the furnaces. There were three standing side by side, made of brick, on which were three immense boilers. A good-sized log of wood was none too much for each furnace. How would you like to see three bushels of potatoes cooked in a great

boiler and a corresponding quantity of meat and vegetables in another and a third full of gravy—water gravy? It required one whole boiler of hulled corn or hominy for supper.<sup>7</sup>

Groups of six women cooks took turns in the kitchen, each having time off periodically. Between their work cooking for the order they took care of their chores at home and other types of community work. Emma Carroll's mother preferred not to eat in the community dining hall, so Emma brought her meals to her in their own home. When the order eventually allowed families to sit together in groups, she joined the family group at dinner.

Three rows of tables ran the length of the dining hall. Three older and three younger girls served meals for a week at a time. These girls set the tables, served the food, cleared the dishes when the meal was over, and brought them back to the kitchen to be washed. Sometimes they helped wash the dishes. Because the group did not have tablecloths, the table tops were scrubbed thoroughly after every meal and the benches were also washed to keep the dining area as clean as possible.

Emma Carroll remembered special friendships that grew between younger and older girls as they worked together in the dining hall:

"At the age of about eleven or twelve, a girl

was eligible to appointment as a junior waiter; thus privileged she had reached the acme of her desires. The thrill of partnership with a senior waiter aroused emotions almost bewildering. It was a supreme moment; a real affection grew up between senior and junior girls. As a junior waiter I was placed with Lucy Spencer, pretty, jolly, and very kind to me. We had the center row of tables as our charge.

I have heard my sister Kezia say that she with the other senior girls would often in summer time arise early, before the time for duty at the dining room, and gather

### *United Order Dining hall*

Image from Paul Wayne Carroll and Russell M. Robison, *Our Carroll Heritage: A Tapestry of the Charles N. Carroll Family*. See <http://www.lulu.com/shop/search.ep?contributorId=317459>



the wild roses from the creek bank, placing a twig with a single rose bud under each plate. It required several hundred. The fragrance of the flowers was noticeable on entering the room.”<sup>8</sup>

When the Orderville United Order first began the adults sat at one set of tables and the children at another, but eventually families sat together.

The members of the community ate in two shifts, which required the entire process of setting the tables and serving the food to be done twice. Usually the food was simple, but on special occasions it included fried pork, mashed potatoes, vegetables, pickled beets, or fresh-baked molasses cookies. After community dining was discontinued altogether due to the destruction of the dining hall by a flood in 1880, produce was parceled out to families according to need.

**B**ecause it sought to establish a self-sufficient society, the Orderville United Order attempted to provide for its community’s every need without importing goods from the outside world. Thus there were diverse buildings, more so than in other Mormon communities of comparable size. The people were resourceful, utilitarian, and not given to excess. Their buildings were plain, vernacular structures. Their rapid construction using lumber rather than masonry helps account for the fact that none of the united order buildings have survived to the present. Buildings were constructed for dairies, silkworm production, a woolen factory, animal shelters, food storage, a shoe shop, a tannery, a gristmill, a bakery, a cotton factory, and a small industrial center consisting of a “blacksmith shop, cabinet and carpenter shop, broom and bucket factories, and other industrial facilities.”<sup>9</sup> Orderville residents were able to export lumber to

St. George for the construction of the LDS temple there, as well as provide laborers for the building of the Manti Temple.

Some of the united order buildings were used for multiple purposes. All religious meetings and socials were held in the dining hall for a time. After the Relief Society hall was erected, it was used for

those purposes, as well as for school classes. The first schoolhouse was a small structure, only 14 by 16 feet, built east of the dining hall. Due to its limited size, school classes also were held in the “garret” of the Big House. In the late 1880s a more substantial, two-story schoolhouse was constructed, although an attempt to build it using brick failed because the brick contained too much lime. Orderville’s young children attended school three months of the year. The older children worked year-round, receiving educational instruction only at Church meetings. Children were viewed primarily as a resource for building up the community and as full contributors in terms of time and energy.

To the east of the town, 20 acres of vegetable gardens and orchards provided food for community members. Women and girls rotated work in the gardens and tended hot beds

that provided early vegetables, a flower garden, a grove of mulberry trees for silkworms, and a few beehives. South of the square, a blacksmith shop, carpenter and cabinet shops, and other industries lined the street. Other food to support the community was produced on 400 acres of land located on the periphery of town. In 1879 this land produced 4,006 bushels of wheat, 3,178 pounds of pork, 22,691 pounds of mutton, 18,256 pounds of beef, 10,456 gallons of milk, 3,745 pounds of butter, 136 pounds of cheese, 1,485 gallons of molasses,

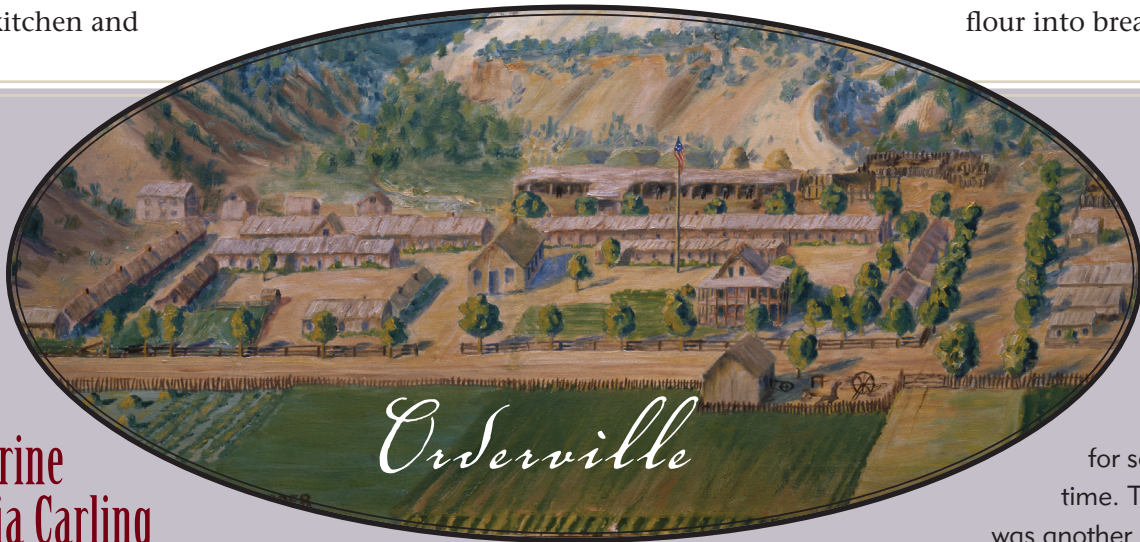


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1,888 bushels of melons, 14,000 pounds of cabbage, and 7,165 bushels of potatoes, onions, radishes, beets, cucumbers, carrots, parsnips, turnips, tomatoes, peas, and beans.<sup>10</sup> The group was virtually self-sufficient, and so the changing prices of goods elsewhere had little effect on them.

The board of directors assigned duties according to skills. Besides their own household work, women took turns working in the kitchen and

waiting on tables. Each day six attendants and five or six cooks prepared and served the community's food. When the first meal was served on July 24, 1875, 15 families were present, totaling fewer than 100 individuals. By 1877, Orderville had 370 members of the order. In 1882, the population had increased to 602, of which 259 were children under eight years of age. Each day two elderly men turned a 150-pound bag of flour into bread to be



## Catherine Aurelia Carling Porter

I was not twelve years old when we moved to Orderville. Father turned all his property over to the United Order, except the household and personal things. We experienced a great change in our lives, making new friends and changing our way of life among new people who became dear friends and a good people to live among.

"When we first went to Orderville the people were all eating at a large dining hall in the center of the little town. There were three rows of tables that could seat about two hundred people at a time. Soon after we went to Orderville, there were about seven hundred

people and we had to set the tables three times. Besides the dining hall, there was the kitchen, supervised over by a man and a good sized boy to help tend the furnace and do chores, and a bakery, where the baker [made] all the bread fresh every day. There were three married women and three young ladies to work in the kitchen. There were six [sets] of cooks and six sets of girls to work in the dining hall. We [each] took our turn at the work.

"The men were given the privilege of choosing the job ... they liked best. My father, being a cabinet maker, was given a shop and materials to work with. He made furniture. ... My older sister was married, but she had no children, and her husband Howard Spencer was on a mission in England, so she did the painting of the furniture

for some time. There was another man who ran a furniture shop, so the people were soon well supplied with furniture.

"There was a man and his family by the name of Warriner A. Porter who moved into the community. His brother Edson accompanied him to help him, but intended to return to his home in Porterville. He stayed at Orderville three weeks, and as all young men are interested in girls, he had an idea he might see one that would suit him. The first week passed and he said to himself, 'There is not a girl here that I would have.' The second week brought a new set of girls into the dining hall. As the girls came in, he saw one among them and he thought, 'She is mine.' He stayed another week and then found a chance to go back home to Porterville with a man who was going north to get a load of goods. There was also an Orderville

## Diary Entry

baked in a large brick oven. Preserves and bottled fruit were also produced. Lunch was the main meal. Dinner usually consisted of corn meal mush, milk, and johnny cake served with butter. Because there were so many people to feed, the kitchen routine had to be carefully organized.

**T**he storage and distribution of resources centered in the storehouse under the charge of the bishop and the president of the order. Each

department or business managed by the order had its offices there. For the first two years, supplies were scarce and a committee of three women was assigned the task “to learn the necessities of the people and to decide who needed things most and issue orders on the store when things were to be given out,” in order to help conserve.<sup>11</sup>

As was true of much of Kane County, the area surrounding Orderville was used for grazing. Cattle and sheep raising were logical businesses for the

woman who was going to visit her parents, and as they were setting around the campfire that evening, she asked Edson if he had found him a girl at Orderville. He said yes, and she asked him what her name was. He said he didn’t know, he hadn’t talked to her, but described her dress and her appearance. She said that her name was Catherine Carling and she was a mighty fine little girl. He went back home feeling like he had his girl picked out.

“He decided to come back to Orderville during the summer. He completed his arrangements to get ready to move his widowed mother and two brothers and a sister to Orderville in the fall. After Edson and his mother became established in their new home, his sister Annie and my sister Ellen and I worked in the dining hall together. She invited us to go to their home and spend the evening. We went and spent a very enjoyable time until about 9 o’clock when we bade them good night. Edson followed us and asked if he might accompany us home. The snow was several inches deep, and he saw us home safely. After that, he came to our home quite often. We would walk to Sunday evening meetings together. He and

my sister Ellen and I became fast friends. Ellen was older than I and we were always together. I thought I was just going along with my sister and Edson. As we became acquainted, he paid so much attention to me that I really enjoyed being with him.

“One day Ellen said to me, ‘I am going to quit Edson.’

“I said, ‘I don’t care if you do quit him, but why are you going to quit him?’

“‘Oh,’ she said, ‘I am going with someone else.’ She was going with Thomas Chamberlain and in due time she married him.

“Those fleeting years—how quickly they passed, leaving sweet memories of times long passed and gone. I felt that there was no other man I could ever love as I did [Edson]. But there was something I must know for myself. My older sister Ann told me how she fasted and prayed three days and three nights to the Lord that she might know if this man who wanted her to be his wife was the proper man to be her husband and she received such a wonderful testimony that he was.

“I said to myself, if the Lord answered my sister’s prayer, [He] can do the same for me. I have

never done anything that would hinder me from receiving [His] blessing. So when the time came that I must know for myself, I, too, fasted three days and three nights and my Heavenly Father did hear and answer my prayers whether the man who had asked me to be his wife for time and all eternity would be a proper companion for me. I did receive a testimony that has always, since then, been as an anchor to my soul. I have never felt that I had made a mistake in my choice. I have never felt that I might have done better if I had married someone else.”

*Catherine A. Carling died at age 92 on November 1, 1957, in Mesa, Arizona. See [www.sanfordporter.org](http://www.sanfordporter.org)*

*Painting of Orderville, Utah, courtesy Church History Museum, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.*

*Catherine and Edson Porter*



group, and they quickly gained control over local watering places in the area. Their ranches included parts of Arizona and Utah, including House Rock, Jacob's Pools, Cane Springs, Castle Ranch, Elk Ranch, and a 150-acre ranch on the Pahreah (Paria) River. By 1881 the Orderville United Order was paying taxes on 5,000 head of sheep, and its cattle herds had increased to 10 times their original size.

For a time, Mary Fowler's mother was the supervisor of the dairy. She brought her children along while she worked. Family members braided straw hats or sewed clothes from home-woven cloth. Their days seemed to be devoted to gospel work; other work stopped periodically for family prayers or group meetings. "The atmosphere and proceedings of these meetings were the same pattern whether concerned with civil or ecclesiastical matters," a relative of Fowler wrote.<sup>12</sup>

The members of the order joined together for social activities as well as for work. The religious auxiliaries provided the backdrop for dances, parties, and educational activities. The local Young Men and Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Associations began when the order was first organized. The women's Relief Society published its own weekly newspaper, with such articles or regular columns as "Our Interest," "Home Composition," "The Pearl," "The Clipper," and "The Mutual Star." Every Saturday the young men's organization published the *Honey Bee*, a 16-page broadside.<sup>13</sup>

### Demise of the Orderville United Order

Ironically, when the economy of southern Utah improved during the 1880s, the Orderville United Order began its decline. Even so, it has been

considered the most successful of all the efforts at creating united orders throughout The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Most failed within six months, and few lasted more than a year. Some other successful variants, such as that of Brigham City in northern Utah, did not include the rigorous communal living arrangements of Orderville.

The dedication of Orderville residents well

suitied the establishment of a relatively isolated community in a region where most residents practiced little more than subsistence economies. As towns and enterprises developed, however, and as new technologies such as the railroad and the telegraph came to the region with their promise (and threat) of outside goods and increased trade, the more exacting united order concept came under siege—a siege compounded after Brigham Young died in 1877 and other Church leaders became less committed to the ideal. At the same time, the troubles facing the Mormon Church and all its members due to the practice of plural marriage left little leisure to devote to the united order or any other principle that needed reinforcement from the pulpit.

In the 1870s, Orderville was among the most successful settlements in the territory. By the 1880s, however, other communities in Kane County

began to challenge Orderville's success at farming, mining, and stock producing. Additionally, the practitioners of the order maintained their relatively simple lifestyle, which in comparison to other settlements began to seem backward and unprogressive socially.

As perhaps a sign of the trend toward individualism and independence, the town's policy of communal dining was discontinued in 1880 after a flood destroyed the dining hall. This had an



**D**uring his lifetime, Brigham Young had done much to aid the town's efforts. . . . He wrote: "Credit a man for what he does. It is a true principle that every person shall be . . . credited for all good he does, but the fruits of his labors must be added to the general fund of the United Order."

immediate and serious impact on the communal atmosphere of the order. Three years later, with the prodding of Apostle Erastus Snow, a wage system was differentiated to reflect diverse levels of talent, skill, and education. Thus the original leveling effect of cooperation and communalism was tempered or weakened by a growing emphasis on differences.

**I**t was also significant that by the 1880s Orderville's chief outside supporter had died. During his lifetime, Brigham Young had done much to aid the town's efforts. He visited the town on occasion, advising and blessing the members' labors. On January 17, 1877, he wrote to the president of the order and urged him to keep careful accounts and to set specific day rates for all work done: "A little girl can take account of the time and enter each day's credit under the respective names of the workers. This record can be taken, say every evening about supper or prayer time." He further wrote: "Credit a man for what he does. It is a true principle that every person shall be rewarded for the labor he performs; that is, he shall be credited for all good he does, but the fruits of his labors must be added to the general fund of the United Order."<sup>14</sup>

Apostle Erastus Snow, the regional church leader, did not view the Orderville United Order's efforts as favorably as did Brigham Young, and after the president's death, Snow assumed more direct responsibility for Orderville. It is clear in hindsight that changes in the state's economy as well as the attitude of Church leaders toward the order greatly influenced its outcome.

Orderville suffered the blow of losing the support of Mormon Church leaders at the same time that many of its leading polygamist members went into hiding to avoid arrest under the provisions of the federal Edmunds Act. Because so many Orderville residents were polygamists, the community was seriously affected by the prosecution of polygamists by the United States government. Men like Thomas Chamberlain spent months in hiding and were eventually apprehended, prosecuted, and imprisoned. Without effective leadership, the order weakened. Church leaders urged revisions to the original system, such as allowing personal luxuries and encouraging plans to share the stock with the

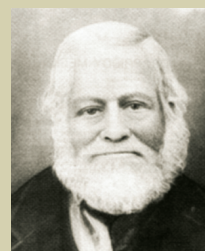
rising generation—a shortcoming of the original plans that had somewhat alienated the youth of the order. Some Church leaders also favored the dissolution of the order to help reduce Mormonism's peculiarities in the eyes of the federal authorities they were trying to placate.

A committee was appointed to come up with a plan for the dissolution of the order. "After exercising all the faith we could and calling for

### Dr. Priddy Meeks

**B**orn August 29, 1795, in South Carolina, Priddy Meeks was converted to the LDS Church in 1840 in Brown County, Illinois, where he also served as bishop. Meeks joined the Saints at Nauvoo, Illinois, from 1842 to 1847 and was blessed by the Prophet Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith that he would have children and sons to carry on his name. They requested that he name his sons after them [which he did]. Arriving in Salt Lake Valley, October 1847, he served as first president of "Society of Health," which trained the Saints in better medical practice. The remainder of his life was spent in colonizing southern Utah including Parowan (1850), Leeds-Harrisburg (1862), and Berryville, now Glendale (1846). His family was the first in Mt. Carmel (1864) living in a dug-out. In 1876 he moved to Orderville, Kane County, and joined the United Order. Brother Meeks was a strict observer of the Word of Wisdom and practiced medicine somewhat after the "Thompsonian" school.

"He was a faithful Latter-day Saint, and departed this life at his residence in Orderville, October 7th, 1886, at the ripe age of 91 years, leaving two wives and a large posterity to mourn his departure.



"Priddy was also the personal physician to LDS Church Presidents Joseph Smith and Brigham Young." 📖

*Information from Daughters of Utah Pioneers marker located at S. Hwy. 89, Mt. Carmel, Kane County.*

Divine aid," one member wrote, "we evolved the following plan. We had the Secretary go over the capital stock, and list everything that had been put in at inventory price. After that was done, teams, land, etc., being named so that we knew what and where it was, we held an auction sale in 1885 of all the community belongings." The men sat through the auction waiting to get their own property back. Payment was made with credits that the order's members had accumulated. The order retained ownership of three entities: the tannery, the woolen factory, and the sheep enterprise, which were leased out to individuals who managed them. By 1900, when the original charter of the order expired, the Orderville United Order had effectively ceased to exist.

The Orderville United Order had lasted for more than a decade and was the most successful example of the communal mode of living among the Mormon pioneers. Andrew Jenson visited Orderville

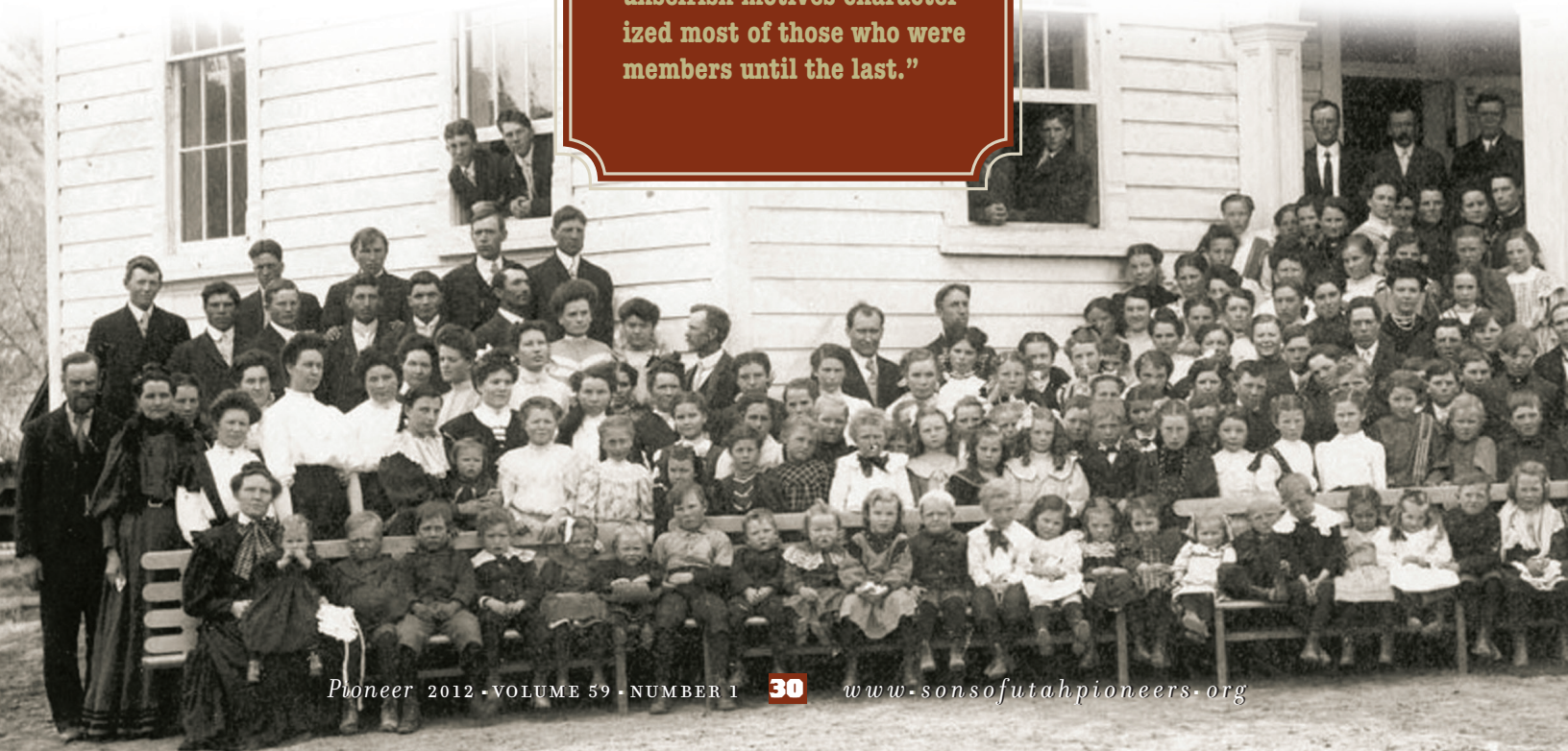
in 1892 with the intention of writing a history of the town. He concluded: "The good Saints of Orderville gained an experience that will never be forgotten by those who passed through it and I was assured by several of the brethren who stuck to it till the last that they never felt happier in their lives than they did when the Order was in

complete running order and they were devoting their entire time, talent and strength for the common good. Good feelings, brotherly love and unselfish motives characterized most of those who were members until the last."<sup>15</sup>

Many contemporarily written reminiscences detail life under the order, making frequent mention of the spirit of true communalism that existed there. Henry Fowler remembered: "I have lived in Utah, Arizona, California, Idaho and in many different towns and I never was so much attached to a people, I never experienced greater joy nor had better times than



**A**ndrew Jenson\* visited Orderville in 1892: "The good Saints of Orderville . . . never felt happier in their lives than they did when the Order was in complete running order and they were devoting their entire time, talent and strength for the common good. Good feelings, brotherly love and unselfish motives characterized most of those who were members until the last."



during the period of time I was connected with the United Order in Orderville.”<sup>16</sup>

Although the Orderville experiment in communal living was relatively short-lived, it provided a unique example of both the benefits and the pitfalls of living cooperatively. While requiring the sacrifice of its members, the community’s strong bonds spanned generations and family divisions and facilitated the people’s efforts to tame the wilderness and make a living.

LeGrande Heaton summarized what had become of the physical town first known as Order City: “Gradually the old houses have been replaced until today, there are 95 quite modern homes. . . . Some of them appear old, but all have been built or added to since 1890. None of the original buildings remain, except a replica of the old stone house, rebuilt with the original rock by the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers.”<sup>17</sup> Heaton’s assessment may not have been entirely correct, as it appears that several dwellings from the 1870s and 1880s remain. One may be a tall, two-level, frame building in the middle of the commercial district on the east side of U.S. Highway 89. Featuring a cornice trimmed with 19 pairs of ornamental brackets, this building appears in old photographs of Orderville and may be the former co-op or some other store of that era. Still, Orderville today bears

little resemblance to its appearance during the united order years of the 1870s and 1880s, or even to its turn-of-the-century look. Gone are the united order buildings: the rock school, the church, and the social hall so proudly erected. ❏

Excerpts from Martha Sonntag Bradley, *A History of Kane County*, Utah Centennial County History Series (Salt Lake City, Ut.: Utah State Historical Society, 1999).

\*Andrew Jensen (1850-1941) was a historian, author, assistant LDS Church Historian, and president of the Utah State Historical Society.

1 Brigham Young, quoted in Mark A. Pendleton, “The Orderville United Order of Zion,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 7 (Oct. 1939): 144.

2 The original “Articles of Incorporation” are in the Bleak Manuscript Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. See *Deseret News*, 1 Oct. 1875.

3 Pendleton, 146.

4 “Partial List of Products and Manufactures of O.U.O. for 1879,” Bleak Manuscript Collection, copy at Utah State Historical Society Library.

5 Sibyl Frost Mendenhall, “Biographical Sketch of Allen Frost,” 10, Utah State Historical Society.

6 Hattie Esplin, Life Sketch, 4, Utah State Historical Society.

7 Emma Carroll Seegmiller, “Personal Memories of the United Order of Orderville, Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* (1939): 33.

8 Seegmiller, 33

9 Adonis Findlay Robinson, *History of Kane County*, 318

10 “Partial List of Products and Manufactures.”

11 Kate Carter, ed., *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1936–51), 4:28.

12 Fred M. Fowler, “Mary Fowler: A child of Pioneers,” 8, Utah State Historical Society.

13 Fowler, 194.

14 Brigham Young, quoted in Pendleton, 155.

15 *Deseret News*, 4 Mar. 1892.

16 Henry Fowler, in Carter, *Heart Throbs*, 1:59.

17 Quoted in Robinson, 391.

Chamberlain and Jensen photos (22, 30) courtesy Utah State Historical Society. Image left posted online at <http://nothingisnew.wordpress.com/category/the-west/page/2/>



# Orderville

BY MICHAEL BENNETT

Orderville ... A chall'nging place to find;  
It lay somewhere along the byway  
Leading off the eight nine highway;  
Near to Bryce, towards Zion's skyway,  
Somewhere there's a town that left behind  
The wayward world, the 70s; No mind ...  
We'd say, "'twas never my way."

Orderville ... the very sound tells all;  
It speaks of tidiness and care,  
Of peace and quiet everywhere,  
Of satisfaction in the air,  
But then we hear the silence-shatt'ring call  
To gather quickly in the banquet hall  
To share communal prayer.

Yes, Orderville ... a nineteenth-century thought ...  
A nearly perfect village, this,  
Combining fair Utopian bliss  
With Godly ways, and Godly kiss;  
Eliminating fear from those with naught,  
By taking some from those who might have  
brought  
What little they'll not miss.

This Orderville ... though busy, seems content;  
United Order was the th' inspired name  
Of this strange life for those who came;  
All things in common—all the same;  
As stewards for their needs, with no dissent,  
While working fields (they earned such  
pittance spent),  
Gave surplus, without claim.

In Orderville ... the trumpet plays at five;  
Its waking call, a Mormon hymn,  
Persuading all of life and limb  
To come, though morning light's yet dim;

And so with yawn and laughter they arrive  
To start communal days ... to thrive and strive  
To fill Joy's cup, up to the brim.

In Orderville ... by seven, most chores done,  
The trumpet sounds the breakfast call  
For young and old and short and tall  
To gather in the dining hall.  
And there three rows of tables neatly run,  
Much like a boarding house. The meal's begun,  
But first, one prays for all.

Prompt Orderville ... at twelve, the call for lunch;  
From orchards, fields and chicken coops,  
From everywhere, alone or groups,  
They come again to scarf the soups  
And everything prepared for them to munch;  
And knowing well there'll be no fancy brunch,  
They wait like hungry troops.

It's Orderville ... another hymn at six ...  
The hall once more; when all are there,  
The evening starts again with prayer.  
When supper's done, the hall is bare  
Until the morn when trumpet's clockwork ticks,  
Announcing once again with hymns he picks,  
That love is everywhere.

For Orderville ... a hundred miles from rail,  
Was isolated from the world;  
Removed from wickedness that swirled  
About them; sin that Satan hurled  
At weaker folk, but certainly would fail  
To change this less-known populated dale,  
Long hid like fetal curled.

Yes, Orderville ... its punctual, communal meals  
Had brought the town's life to a place  
Of testing: if their co-op pace  
Survived the overt frantic race  
Of nearby towns whose economic deals  
Had many undeniable appeals  
Which beckoned an embrace.

In Orderville ... the many tests began:  
Was he quite willing then to do  
The things the elders told him to?  
And was his language ever blue,

And did he steal, or drink? And so it ran  
From Godly acts to those of mortal man,  
Exploring things taboo.

'Twas Orderville, indeed ... and he who passed  
Was welcome; property was shared;  
A job, though ill or well prepared,  
Was given, and I'm sure few cared;  
For paramount was just to be steadfast;  
A poor, lost soul, he—an iconoclast,  
Outsiders say—impaired.

In Orderville ... by credit they were paid;  
And though this ne'er provoked a brawl,  
The wages seemed a trifle small—  
A dollar and a half is all  
For working all day long, and I'm afraid  
That even wives, paid half, though welcomed aid,  
Still, heeded they, the call.

Hence, Orderville ... It may seem slightly strange  
That money was not paid or spent—  
'Twas credit borrowed, credit lent;  
And nothing harbored discontent,  
Because, you see, 'twas easy to arrange  
Your simple life, since never was there change,  
And no embezzlement.

In Orderville ... each year, if at the end,  
One's pay exceeded then his spending,  
Back it goes in perfect blending.  
Odd, though, is

comprehending  
How the wives would never  
e'er contend  
That such arrangements  
could not ever rend  
Their dreams that might  
need mending.

Orderville ... The structure  
as was seen

*Pioneer bonnett on display at the  
Long Valley Daughters of Utah  
Pioneers Museum in Orderville,  
Utah. Photo by Dilleen Marsh.*

Was stricter than surrounding places—  
Alien to surrounding faces;  
Add to that, it well embraces  
All that's proper, peaceable, serene,  
Domesticated, well controlled, and clean,  
With lots of breathing spaces.

Orderville ... Had nothing they need buy,  
Aside from arms, machinery,  
And ammunition; all agree  
That every known necessity  
Was grown or manufactured close nearby,  
Including cotton, coal, and fish to fry;  
God bless the honeybee.

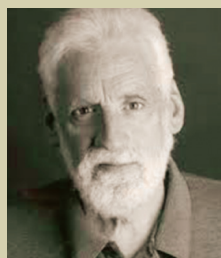
But Orderville ... was too successful then;  
For peace with neighb'ring towns was hard,  
And outside pressure sadly marred  
Serenity they'd sought to guard;  
Their self-sufficiency worked only when  
They managed to keep out the worldly men  
From whom their youth were barred.

In Orderville ... At Christmas, Brother Carling,  
Sensing coming gladsome noise,  
Devoted time to making toys  
For all the little girls and boys:  
Stuffed animals that looked prepared for snarling,  
Dolls and such that looked just oh so darling ...  
Gifts that each enjoys.



That's Orderville ... but elsewhere, no one cheered;  
 We'd picked the finest grazing land,  
 And labor pooled, all happ'ly manned ...  
 'Twas difficult to understand:  
 For other Mormons, struggling, somehow feared  
 That Orderville produced things cheaper, it  
     appeared,  
 And claimed the Master's hand.

Plain Orderville ... Why others seemed to titter:  
 Stern and simple regimen,  
 And clothes and boots like Amish men  
 Who worked and played together then  
 With clannishness ... Yet ridicule was bitter;



### Michael J. Bennett

**M**ichael J. Bennett, author of the poem "Orderville," is a member of the Mills Chapter of the National Society of the Sons of Utah Pioneers. Michael

was raised in Salt Lake City, attended East High School and the University of Utah, and has a master's degree in retailing from New York University in New York City. He worked in the department store business in Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and at ZCMI in Salt Lake City.

After 18 years in the retail business he quit his job and became what he always wanted to be: a professional actor. He has appeared in over 100 films including *A More Perfect Union*, which airs nationally on PBS each July 4th. He has also acted in eight episodes of the popular television series *Touched by an Angel*. He has worked in dinner theater, the Utah Shakespearean Festival in Cedar City, the Old Lyric Theatre in Logan, and the Grand Teton Mainstage theater in Jackson, Wyoming. Though he has over 600 radio and TV commercials under his belt and dozens of writing and directing theatrical works to his credit, he is perhaps best known for writing and appearing in one-man-shows, some of which he has performed for the Sons of Utah Pioneers.

There was (never mind which group was fitter)  
 Jealousy again.

Poor Orderville ... One wonders why it died.  
 Was outside pressure named the sin,  
 Or was it weakness from within?  
 Could it have lived with discipline  
 More focused on apartness, and applied  
 More earnestly, or was the fateful slide  
 Already in its spin?

Sick Orderville ... The reason's hard to say,  
 But, maybe, one small weakness might  
 Have been a major oversight ...  
 The founders somehow failed to write  
 Provisions for the young men in a way  
 That growing up they'd have more needed pay  
 To help with future's bite.

Young Orderville ... with less than fathers chose,  
 They envied youth from out of town,  
 Who swagg'ring by, as though renown,  
 (And wearing nothing 'hand-me-down')  
 Quite bent on loudly flaunting store-bought clothes.  
 The elders, standing firmly to oppose,  
 Could little do, but frown.

In Orderville ... The road to dissolution:  
 First from neighbors—other ones,  
 Whose silver mines brought easy funds;  
 More wage mistakes with local sons;  
 Polygamy and growing prosecution ...  
 Three, with fundament'ly no solution;  
 So, downhill it runs.

Sad Orderville ... by 1885,  
 'Twas clear, the perfect way was gone;  
 The folks, still mostly up at dawn,  
 Tried not to sink to Babylon,  
 And while there was a last-ditch try to strive  
 To keep that share-it-all appeal alive,  
 They couldn't carry on.

And Orderville ... could not abide ... and died. ▼

*Poem based on material found in Mormon Country by Wallace Stegner, "The Arcadian Village," 108–127.*



## *Virtues of the Pioneers*

by **David O. McKay**

*Improvement Era*, July 1958, 502–3

**T**he ideals which the pioneers of our valleys of the West fostered and upheld, even under the most adverse conditions, are as applicable today in the whole earth as they were then in the Rocky Mountain settlements.

I name first their faith and reverence. . . .

A second virtue is thrift and economy. They condemned idleness and wastefulness as not being in accordance with the rules of heaven. They recognized the need of mutual aid between capital and labor, and not only taught but also practiced a spirit of co-operation between them.

Another quality exemplified by the pioneers, and one of the most applicable to happiness and peace, is the little, simple virtue of self-control. . . .

Another vital element applicable today is the pioneers' attitude toward slander. A person who revels in slander or gossip is mediocre, or lower. . . . He lacks nobility of soul.

Much has been said about the pioneer women. But you will find few of their names inscribed on monuments erected to the brave. Some are not even known beyond their family circles; not a few lie in unmarked graves out on the plains; but the burdens they bore uncomplainingly, the contributions they made to the settlement of the arid West, the virtues they exemplified in the midst of trials and almost super-human endurance entitle them to an honored place among the heroines of the world.

The pioneer woman was equal to any emergency. Her courage in crises when she faced threatened death equaled and, in some cases, exceeded that of her husband. She was loyal to her loved ones, to the Church, and to God. She endured untold hardships uncomplainingly. She was unselfish, brave, and fulfilled, under most adverse conditions, the responsibilities of motherhood—woman's noblest calling.

Looking among my treasures recently, I picked up a piece of old homespun cloth. It was woven by my

grandmother. My grandfather clipped the wool from the sheep out of which the cloth was made. There were no factories in Utah then. The cloth was carded and spun into thread by my grandmother, who had walked across the plains. As I looked at my treasured homespun cloth, it was old and threadbare, but genuine, and there was not a shoddy thread in it. . . .

What that piece of homespun is to a modern substitute for genuine cloth, so fundamental, unchanging virtues that have stood the test of ages are to promises of pleasure, indulgence, and false ideals in modern society. The old fundamental ideals are genuine. . . .

Finally, the noblest ideal of these honored pioneers, and the noblest ideal in the Church today, is the ideal of service. Before they started out on their pioneer trail each day, they had their prayers either in the wagon or around the circle. Each family in every wagon had its prayers. The second thing which they had to do was to see that their muskets were properly loaded. The driver would carry his musket across his knees with the firelock ready; those who walked at the side of their teams carried the musket on the arm, in preparation for any eventuality. The third instruction was, "Let every man be considerate and as interested in his neighbor's welfare as in his own." They helped one another in adversity, shared with the hungry the last loaf of bread, gave of their time and means for the upbuilding of the community, and on not a few occasions offered their lives for the truth.

They were strong, true, virtuous, upright, God-fearing citizens and people of God—these pioneers of our mountain west. . . .

Rich in material accomplishment, let us ever cherish that integrity and faith triumphant which inspired the pioneers. Let us ever remember that the best way to honor the memory of our pioneers is not merely by words, but by emulating their deeds. ▣



## Porter Rockwell, Pioneer Detective

Many stories are told of that famous pioneer detective, Porter Rockwell. One of these stories tells of two officers from another state coming to Salt Lake City on the trail of a criminal. They looked up Rockwell for information regarding their quarry, learning that upon their entry into town, the fellow had fled on horseback toward Nevada.

Rockwell proposed that he alone capture the desperado, stating that the fugitive was well-armed, a very good shot, and would resist to his death. The officers laughed at the thought that Rockwell would more easily capture the man single-handedly, so all three took up the trail.

After hours of hard riding they saw a cloud of dust in the distance and began to catch up with the desperado, who fired at the officers with such deadly aim that one of their horses was shot down, hurting his rider severely. Porter and the other officer had to keep their distance, as the desperado was out-ranging them with his guns.

Then Rockwell said, "Well, what did I tell you? You see you didn't have a chance." Jumping from his horse, he unslung his long rifle from the saddle, knelt on the prairie to rest his weapon, and at the first crack of his rifle the desperado fell from his mount.

Jubilantly the remaining officer rode up to the prostrate bandit, dismounted, and stooped towards him, but restrained himself for a moment when Porter yelled, "Look out! He'll shoot you even though he's dead!" The officer thought Rockwell was joking and grabbed at the

dead man's guns, which, according to the custom of some of the bad men of those days, were strapped loosely to the tops of his riding boots. As he seized the muzzle of one of the guns, a string tied to the trigger caused the gun to fire, wounding the officer badly.

Rockwell came back to town with the dead desperado and two severely hurt officers, both of whom may have been killed had Rockwell not been along. ▣

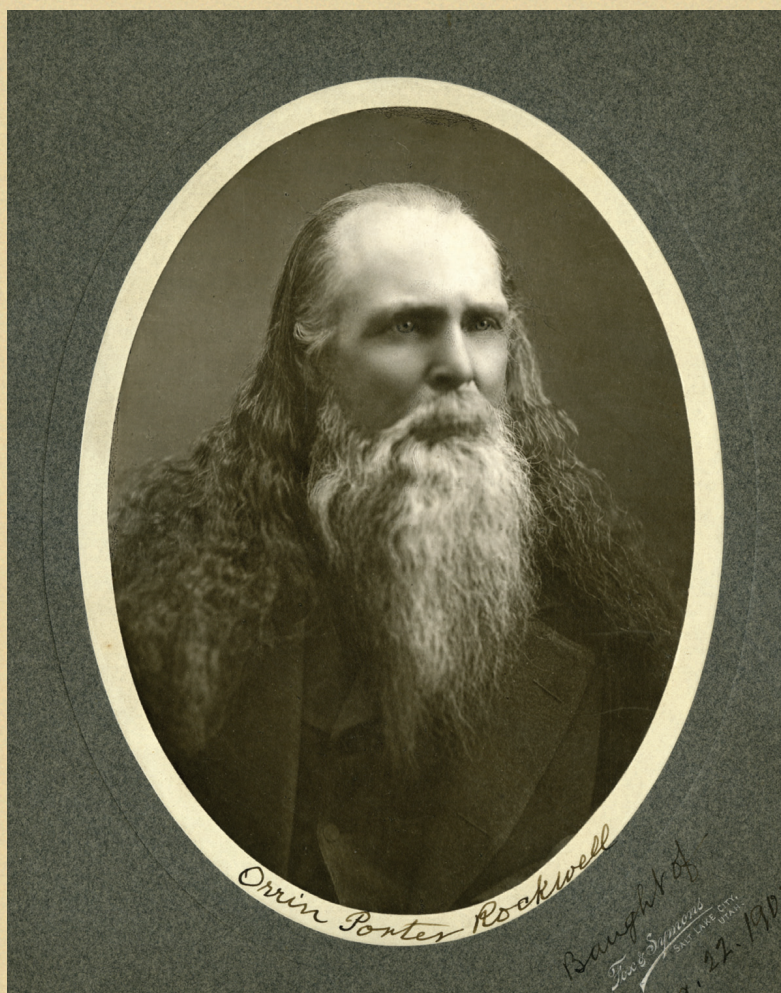


Photo courtesy Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints



National Society of the  
Sons of Utah Pioneers  
**Annual Symposium**

**"Joseph Smith,  
Prophet of the Restoration"**

May 12, 2012 at National Headquarters  
3310 E 2920 S (Louise Ave) Salt Lake City, Utah

*Symposium Speakers:*

Scholars of the Joseph Smith Papers Project

**Ronald O. Barney**, "Joseph Smith, Then and Now"

**Karen Lynn Davidson**, "How a Renegade  
Historian Can Help Us Appreciate Joseph Smith"

**Ronald K. Esplin**, "How Joseph Learned and  
Fulfilled His Mission"

**Jeffrey N. Walker**, "Joseph Smith and the Law"

*Following symposium speakers, dinner will be served  
at the East Millcreek Stake Center, with our concluding  
2012 Symposium keynote speaker:*

**Elder Marlin K. Jensen**, former Church Historian

Symposium seating begins at 12:00 noon  
registration is 12:00–12:45 p.m.

*Registration form at*

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# The Order Is Love

by Carol Lynn Pearson

*Love thy neighbor—  
Love him as thyself.  
Love thy neighbor—  
Give to someone else.  
Love thy neighbor—  
No easy thing to do,  
Especially when your neighbor's  
Not as lovable as you.  
And to work just as long and as hard  
as you can  
To fill the belly of another man—  
Takes love—takes love!  
And to plant your wheat  
For someone else to eat  
Takes love—takes love!  
To give all you've got  
Though someone else may not—  
Takes love—takes love!  
To forget about "me"  
And only think of "we"—  
Takes love—takes love!  
Love thy neighbor—  
Love him good or bad.  
Love thy neighbor—  
It's enough to drive you mad.  
But love thy neighbor  
Gets easier to do  
If you remember that your neighbor  
Has got to love you too.  
Oh, remember that your neighbor  
Has got to love you too.*

1971 two-act musical play about  
Orderville

